

The Story of the Later Popes



REV. CHARLES S. ISAACSON, M.A.

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THE STORY OF THE LATER POPES



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THE STORY OF THE LATER POPES

FROM THE GREAT SCHISM TO THE
FIRST YEARS OF PIUS X

(1414 TO 1906)

BY THE

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PREFACE

‘THE Story of the Later Popes’ is an attempt to place before the English reader the history of the Papacy from the Great Schism (A.D. 1417) to the present time (1906). Much of the contemporary history in which the Popes took part, and especially the story of the endless conflicts and wars between the Italian States, has been passed over with but slight notice. On the other hand, wherever the action of the Popes has touched English history, or had relation to English Sovereigns, an endeavour has been made carefully and impartially to record their doings.

Great use has been made of the long and remarkable series of Papal medals,* in which are commemorated the principal events of each reign, and many of which throw light on the personal feelings and character of the Popes. It is hoped that in this way a fair and just estimate of the history and lives of the Roman Pontiffs has been laid before the reader in a way not before attempted.

It has been thought well not to cumber these pages with constant reference to authorities, but

* See Appendix A on ‘Italian Medals.’

a list is given of the principal works consulted. Among these the greatest use has been made of the *Lives of the Popes* by Bishop Creighton, Professor von Ranke, and Chevalier Artaud de Montor, and the anonymous '*Lives of the Popes*' published about the year 1860 by the Religious Tract Society, but now long out of print. In addition to these I am greatly indebted to Gregorovius on the *Tombs of the Popes*, and to the monumental work of Palatius entitled '*Gesta Pontificum Romanorum ab Innocentio IV. usque ad Leonem X.*'

I must also express my great obligation to the Rev. William Addis, Lecturer at Manchester College, Oxford, and chief editor of the '*Catholic Dictionary*,' for many kind suggestions, and especially for his careful revision of the manuscript.

The photographic reproductions of the Papal medals contained in this book are taken partly from my own collection, and partly from medals kindly lent by Messrs. W. S. Lincoln and Son, 69, New Oxford Street, from their splendid and unique collection. They will repay close inspection with a magnifying-glass. The rare medal of the Suppression of the Jesuits is taken, by permission, from Dr. C. Wright's '*Protestant Dictionary*' (Hodder and Stoughton). The original is in the British Museum.

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FIRST PERIOD
THE DAWN OF THE RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER I

MARTIN V. (1417-1431)

OUR story begins with Pope Martin V. His election marks a most momentous crisis in the Roman Church, which coincides with a great division of time in the world's history; for with the dawn of the fifteenth century the Dark Ages pass away, and a new world of light and liberty comes into being. This great change, fitly styled the Renaissance or New Birth, culminated in our own country and in Northern Europe generally in the great Reformation. In Italy the same awakening to classical literature and art was fostered by the Renaissance Popes, and made illustrious by the names of Raphael and Michael Angelo, but the great moral and evangelical power of the new light was turned aside by the persecutions and immoral lives of the fifteenth-century Popes.

Moreover, with the election of Martin V. an end was put to the Great Schism. When the Council of Constance met in 1414 no less than

three Popes—John XXIII., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII.—claimed the allegiance of the faithful. Gregory was induced to resign. The other two were solemnly deposed, and the new Pope was unanimously elected.

As Cardinal Otto Colonna, Martin had been employed by Pope John XXIII. to deal with Hus and his followers in Bohemia. On August 25, 1411, the Cardinal decided against Hus, and urged the Archbishop of Prague to proceed with the utmost severity against the Hussites, calling in, if necessary, the secular arm. In vain King Wenzel and his noble consort, Queen Sophie, protested and pleaded on behalf of 'our faithful and beloved chaplain.' Colonna's only answer was to place Hus under excommunication. Again Cardinal Colonna was brought face to face with Hus at Constance, and there can be no doubt that he was consenting unto his death, when in the great cathedral, in the presence of the Emperor Sigismund and the miserable Pope John, the sentence was pronounced which consigned that noble preacher of the Gospel to be burnt as a heretic outside the city of Constance on July 6, 1415.

After the deposition of the wicked and wretched Pope John XXIII., followed by the resignation of Gregory and the further deposition of Benedict, the Conclave of Cardinals was held in the

Kaufhaus of Constance. Fifty-six Cardinals composed the Sacred College. For this time, and this time only, there were associated with them six representatives of the Great Powers. They were guarded from all outside interference by armed guards, under the Master of Rhodes, and all food and drink was carefully examined before it was allowed to pass in.

On the third day of the Conclave, which was St. Martin's Day, the crowd outside, led by a company of choristers, sang the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and so stirred the Cardinals within that they unanimously elected the simplest and poorest of the Cardinals, Otto Colonna, who took the name of MARTIN V. The family of the Colonna, who played so great a part in the history of medieval Rome, came originally from Parma. They adopted the name of Colonna when a member of the family, the Cardinal of St. Praxedes, brought from Palestine the column or pillar to which it was believed Jesus Christ had been bound when scourged. The pillar became the family emblem, and was afterwards surmounted by a crown, when Stephen Colonna was deputed to place the diadem on the head of an Emperor consecrated at Rome during the residence of the Popes at Avignon. The column and crown appear on many medals of Martin V.

It is interesting to observe that the election of Martin was greatly due to English votes and influence. It was also not unacceptable to Sigismund. The Emperor, informed of the event, hastened to the hall of meeting, and flung himself at the new Pontiff's feet, beseeching his blessing ; then all proceeded to the Cathedral in a mighty procession to render thanks to God. Ten days later the solemn coronation of the Pope took place.

In the spring of the following year the Pope dissolved the Council of Constance, and returned to Italy. Twelve Cardinals marched before him ; the Emperor himself led his snow-white palfrey, and accompanied him as far as Gottlieben with a numerous escort of mounted troops.

Martin V. was a Roman by birth, the first Pope taken from the Colonnas ; he was therefore peculiarly acceptable to the Roman people. When he made his entry into Rome, he found the city in the deepest misery and degradation ; the streets were barricaded by the Barons and their partisans ; the churches were abandoned, and fast falling into ruin ; the people were becoming wild and unruly through indigence and bloodshed.

But the zeal and energy of Martin soon effected a great change for the better. He restored order and goodwill by ruling in accordance with his favourite maxim, ' Love justice, ye that judge the

earth'; he rebuilt the dilapidated churches, and so studied the general good that he was greatly beloved by the Emperor, Cardinals, and all good men.

It was under Martin V. that medals began to be struck in honour of the Pontiffs, recording the principal events of their reign. The history of the Popes may be in great measure traced by these coins, as has been done by Claude du Molinet as far as the year 1678. The medals also afford authentic likenesses of the Popes. In the case of Martin, V. the celebrated painter Victor Pisanello of Verona modelled his features in wax, and from this model the beautiful portrait on his medals was derived.

The first medal gives on the reverse the figure of Rome seated in the ancient manner on a buckler, and holding the scales of justice in one hand and a cornucopia in the other, thus showing the spirit of justice by which Martin was animated and the abundance which he brought to the impoverished city. Another medal represents the façade of the rebuilt church of the Holy Apostles with the words: 'He restored the ruined and tottering churches, and was the keystone of the column.'

Martin owed his election to a Council, for unless the Council of Constance had deposed his

predecessor he would not have reached the Papal throne ; yet one of his first acts was to decree that ‘No one may appeal from the supreme judge—that is, the Roman Pontiff, Vicar on earth of Jesus Christ—or may decline his authority in matters of faith.’ By this decree the whole authority of the Councils was destroyed, and the Papal autocracy was again fully established. Nothing is indeed more wonderful than the way in which the Papacy recovered under Martin from its deadly wound, and became once more strong and powerful.

Even in England, which had long been left to itself, Martin proceeded to assert his authority. He wrote to Henry V. and again to Henry VI., urging them to abolish the Statutes of Provisions and Præmunire. When nothing was done, the Pope turned his anger against Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop had proclaimed indulgences to all who visited the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Martin indignantly resented the pretension of anyone but himself to issue indulgences. ‘As the fallen angels,’ he said, ‘wished to set up in the earth their seat against the Creator, so have these presumptuous men endeavoured to raise a false tabernacle of salvation against the Apostolic seat and the authority of the Roman Pontiff, to whom

PLATE I.



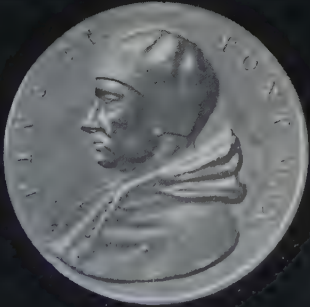
MARTIN V. (COLONNA).



The Church of the Holy Apostles
as restored by Martin V.



CALLIXTUS III.



PIVS II.

God alone has granted this power.' It was long since an English Archbishop had been thus dealt with by a Pope ; but Chichele meekly submitted, and recognised the Pope as his superior. A decided blow was thus dealt against the independence of the English Episcopacy. Martin seems indeed to have had a premonition of the English Reformation, and to have endeavoured to postpone the coming calamity.

Martin had a true monkish face, yet it was open and benevolent. Though he grievously erred in the matter of Hus, there was much goodness in his heart. It was said that 'to know him was to love him.' His last medal was a striking one. It shows the Tiara, the Imperial Orb and Crown, a Cardinal's Hat, the Sceptre and Crozier, all tossed in the flames, with the inscription, *Sic omnis Mundi Gloria* (Such is all the glory of the World). His tomb, which is in front of the high altar of the Lateran Church, bears the inscription, 'Temporum Suorum Felicitas' (The Happiness of his Times). To a certain extent the epitaph was justified by his life, yet it is impossible not to perceive that Martin lost the greatest opportunity which ever presented itself of reforming the Papacy. If only he had possessed greater determination and greater courage he might have achieved more.

CHAPTER II

EUGENIUS IV. (1431-1447)

ON the death of Martin V., the Cardinals, tired of his strict rule and determined to assert their own independent authority, resolved that the next Pope should be a man of obscure birth and without authority. Accordingly they fixed on a Venetian monk, named Gabriele Condolmiere, who owed his Cardinal's hat to the disgraceful nepotism of his uncle, Gregory XII. The new Pope assumed the title of EUGENIUS IV. His election was so unexpected that he himself attributed it to direct Divine interposition, and was fond of telling the story of how, when he was a simple monk in Venice and acting as porter at the gate of his monastery, an unknown hermit came up, and after praying with him in the church, said, 'You will be a Cardinal ; then you will be Pope for sixteen years (he fell short of it only by ten days); you will suffer many adversities, and then you will die.' So saying the hermit departed, and was seen no more. Another hermit also promised the

Pontificate to Gabriele when he was going into Egypt with Francis Fascani. To the latter he said, 'You will be the father of your country,' and to Gabriele, 'You will be the father of the whole Catholic world.'

Eugenius was so majestic in appearance that on one occasion when he took part in a service in Florence, the people were moved to tears before the figure of 'the Vicar of Christ, who seemed to be He whom he represented.' His pious habits never varied. He had always with him four monks to help him to conduct the proper offices day and night to which he had become accustomed in his monastery. He was generous almost to a fault. When a poor Florentine asked for help, he held out to him a purse of gold and told him to help himself. When the poor man timidly took only two or three pieces Eugenius laughed and said, 'Put in your hand again ; you are welcome to the gold.'

But the hermit's prophecy soon came true. Eugenius did not wait long before he began to suffer. His predecessor, Martin, had unhappily allowed the powerful members of his family to enrich themselves at the expense of the Church. All the castles and fortified cities in the Papal States were in the hands of the Colonnas, as well as the Papal jewels and the treasure of St. Peter. When

they were summoned to surrender them to the New Pope, who belonged to the rival party of the Orsini, they arrogantly refused to do so. Civil war for a month filled the city of Rome with slaughter and burning, and in the end Eugenius fled ignominiously by a back door in the disguise of a Dominican monk. A sailor carried the Pope on his back through shallow water into a small, dirty boat. The Pope lay at the bottom of the boat covered with a shield, and amid a storm of stones and arrows from the angry crowds on the banks of the Tiber, he was rowed down to a waiting galley and made good his escape. It was the last time a Pope had to flee from the Eternal City, until four hundred years later Pius IX. fled to Gaeta in 1848.

A terrible vengeance awaited the Romans. Eugenius found a man fitted for the task of subduing his enemies. A Bishop, named Vittelleschi, a man of indomitable courage and an iron hand, was appointed to the task. He hung, beheaded, and strangled the leaders of the insurrection. He levelled the walls of the castles and even the fortified churches of the places where the nobles of the Colonna partly lived, and made a terrible example of one of the chiefs of the conspiracy by drawing him on a hurdle through the streets of Rome, tearing his flesh with red-hot

pincers, and finally quartering him as a traitor. The Roman burghers were entirely cowed, and the Colonna family humbled to the dust. Yet not much time elapsed before Eugenius, jealous of the power of Vitelleschi, had him arrested and taken to the castle of San Angelo, where he died in a month, not without suspicion of poison.

But yet greater trouble awaited Eugenius. In accordance with the regulations drawn up by the Council of Constance, it was necessary that a fresh Council should meet within ten years. This Council met at Basel, and was called after that city. It was the final struggle for authority between Council and Pope, and it lasted throughout the entire reign of Eugenius. In 1439 the Council deposed Eugenius and elected Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, as Pope under the title of Felix V. Eugenius answered by a decree dissolving the Council and annulling its acts. Year after year the struggle went on, while Pope anathematized Pope, and the Council quarrelled with both. But in the end the stubborn nature of Eugenius prevailed. The adherents of the Council fell away, Felix retired into obscurity, and Eugenius was completely victorious.

Henceforth there were no more pseudo-Popes forced by Emperors upon an unwilling Church, or who had even purchased the Papacy for money;

no more Anti-Popes elected by a division of the Cardinals ; but for good or for evil from that day to the present time there has been but one Pope of the Roman Catholic Church elected by the majority of Cardinals and universally acknowledged to be the only and true Pope of Rome.

Henceforth there has never again been a Council to set up its authority against the Pope, and from that time the Pope has been supreme in the Roman Catholic Church.

One ray of light illumined the Pontificate of Eugenius, when, in 1438, the Greek Emperor John Palæologus and his brother, the Patriarch of Constantinople, arrived at Ferrara, and after long negotiations acknowledged the Pope as 'Sovereign Pontiff, Viceregent and Vicar of Christ, Shepherd and Teacher of all Christians, Ruler of the Church of God,' but they added 'saving the privileges and rights of the Patriarchs of the East.' This reconciliation was a political necessity of the time, and was soon after repudiated by the entire Greek Church, but it gave great satisfaction to Eugenius and strengthened his cause. Eugenius lived to receive the submission of the Germans, who had somewhat favoured the Anti-Pope, Felix V. It was his last act, and scarcely accomplished when he died, February 23, 1447. He was a narrow-minded monk, but gifted with a large stock of

obstinacy which served him instead of ability. He was a man of old-fashioned monastic piety and was far happier in a convent than in a palace. Like many others he rued the day when he was chosen Pope, and shortly before his death he is reported to have said to himself, 'O Gabriele, how much better it had been for your soul's health had you never become Pope or Cardinal, but died a simple monk! Poor creatures that we are, we know ourselves at last.'

CHAPTER III

NICHOLAS V. AND CALLIXTUS III. (1447-1458)

THE Renaissance (or, more properly, Renaissance) began at the very beginning of the fifteenth century. But Martin V. and Eugenius IV. were men of a previous age. There was nothing of the Renaissance in them. Meanwhile the spirit of the 'new learning' had been everywhere gathering strength. In England and Bohemia the minds of men were turned to the study of the Holy Scriptures, but in Italy the great classics—especially Virgil and Ovid—were in vogue, and everything that was classic and pagan came into favour under the name of 'Humanism.'

NICHOLAS V. (1447 - 1455) was the first 'humanist' Pope. At the Conclave the Cardinals were almost equally divided between a Colonna, nephew of Martin V., and the candidate of the Orsini faction. When agreement seemed impossible, Thomas of Sarzana, near Bologna, was proposed, and to his own great surprise was

electd on the eve of St. Thomas's Day, and took the name of Nicholas, after Niccolo Albergata, the Bishop of his native city, who had been a second father to him.

Nicholas was of obscure birth, but was a genuine student, a lover of literature and art, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the age he lived in, yet withal of the highest moral and religious character. As he belonged to no great political party, all were ready to accept him, and by his conciliatory spirit he procured peace for the Church. Even the old Anti-Pope, Felix V., was induced to submit to him, and the Council of Basel saved their dignity by electing him before they were dissolved. The German Princes, one after another, made their submission, and for the first time for seventy years the Roman Catholic Church was united under one undoubted Pope. Well might the aged Cardinal of Portugal exclaim: 'God has chosen a Pope, not the Cardinals !'

Nicholas soon showed his taste for art and letters. He collected manuscripts from all quarters, and may be regarded as the true founder of the famous Vatican library. He filled his palace with poets and artists of every kind, as he said himself: 'I reward even the bad poets, if they only come and ask.' The monks were driven away, and the old priestly officers of the

Pope gave place to a swarm of new secretaries, 'who wore the livery of the Church, but loved the shrine of the Muses.' Many of these were perfect heathen, and greatly preferred Virgil to the New Testament, so that the Papal Court became more and more rationalistic, secretly given to free thought and more or less to free living.

The year 1450 was the year of the Papal Jubilee, and a vast number of pilgrims came to Rome to claim the indulgences of the Jubilee. A river of gold flowed into the Papal coffers, and Nicholas used this wealth in building new city walls, new aqueducts, new forts and palaces, restoring churches and basilicas, and covering the walls of the Vatican with frescoes. For this latter work he was fortunate in securing the services of Fra Angelico.

Yet all was not joy, even for Nicholas. He was troubled by a revolution in Rome from those who, in their zeal to put aside the past and begin a new era, demanded the abolition of the temporal power and the inauguration of a Roman Republic. As soon as this revolution was suppressed and its leaders executed, a still greater trouble arose from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. Nicholas tried in vain to create a new crusade; but the age of chivalry had departed. 'Why should we set our lives and our children's bread,' they

said, 'in hazard against the Turk, while the chief priest lets the money which ought to be spent on the defence of the Holy Faith, be wasted on towers and walls, chalk and stone?'

Broken-hearted at this lukewarmness, sickened of all his splendours and artistic pleasures, the once simple-minded Thomas of Sarzana died, glad to be released from the heavy burden of his office.

His medals represent the walls of the city with the words *Felix Roma*, while others record the year of Jubilee with the opening and shutting of the Holy Door.

The swing of the pendulum, called in Papal language 'the rhythm of the Papacy,' brought about a complete change. At the Conclave the two factions of the Orsini and Colonna strove against each other, and when all agreement seemed impossible, they suddenly chose an old Spanish Cardinal, aged seventy-seven, named Alfonso Borgia, the first of that 'splendidly lurid race' to sit on the Papal throne. It was intended to be a colourless election, and it was expected that in a year or two another Conclave would necessarily meet. Borgia owed his election to his age. He took the name of CALLIXTUS III. Only two interests moved the infirm old man—the love of his nephews and zeal against the Turks. He only reigned three years

(1455-1458), and during his reign again the Vatican was filled with monks.

In spite of the protestations and murmurs of the Cardinals all possible honours were heaped on his three nephews. Two were made Cardinals, one of whom was only twenty-two years old, and another was made standard-bearer of the Church, and loaded with riches. Troops of poor relations of the Pope flocked from Spain to Rome, until the name of 'Catalans' became hated by the people. One of these licentious youths was afterwards the infamous Borgia Pope, known as Alexander VI.

Into the Turkish War the Pope flung himself with passionate and unexpected zeal. One of his medals tells us that he believed himself chosen of God for the very purpose of delivering Europe from the Turkish invasion. He did, in fact, fit out a Papal fleet, which is commemorated on his medal with the words, 'This I vowed to God'; and below, 'He chose me to destroy the enemies of the faith.' In order to equip the ships he expended all the treasure of the Church, and even stripped off the silver clasps and jewelled bosses from the books collected by his predecessor in the Vatican library. One day, when his eye fell on a richly chased silver salt-cellar on his table, he cried · 'Take it away! take it for the Turkish

War. An earthenware salt-cellar is good enough for me.'

But all the exertions of the Pope were in vain. A certain number of Princes did indeed assemble at his call, and caused him to issue a vainglorious medal with the inscription, 'All Kings shall serve thee'; but they came in a lukewarm and half-hearted spirit, and soon fell away, while the Papal fleet achieved a very minor success in winning back some unimportant islands in the Archipelago.

Callixtus was overbearing, inconsiderate, and narrow-minded. He is only remembered as the founder of a race which brought infinite disgrace on the Papacy. He was buried with no pomp or mark of respect. Only four priests followed him to the grave. Yet magnificent tombs were erected in St. Peter's to both Callixtus III. and his predecessor, Nicholas V., but they were destroyed when the old basilica was pulled down to make way for the new Cathedral, and only some fragments now remain in the crypt of the Vatican.

CHAPTER IV

PIUS II. AND PAUL II. (1458-1471)

ONCE more the 'rhythm of the Papacy' prevailed. In the Conclave there was a sharp struggle between the adherents of the magnificent French Cardinal Estouteville and the Italian Cardinals, who favoured one of their own nation of the old but impoverished family of Piccolomini. After much intrigue, the Italians carried the day, and elected Cardinal Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who took the name of PIUS II. that he might be another 'Pius Æneas.'

The new Pope was in almost every respect the opposite of his predecessor. He was one of the most remarkable men of his day, and perhaps the cleverest and most learned Pope which ever reigned. He began life in the service of Cardinal Capranica, one of the antipapal leaders at the Council of Basel, and after a time became secretary to the Anti-Pope, Felix V. In 1442 a clever and beautifully-expressed letter from Felix to the German King, which had been composed by

Æneas attracted attention, and the young scholar accepted the post of Royal Secretary.

Æneas was too astute not to see that Felix was on the losing side, and was glad to change service and make his peace with Rome. Not long after he was sent on an embassy to Rome in company with Tommaso of Sarzana. On arriving at a poor inn in the Alps, Tommaso urged Æneas to order a better dinner, and jokingly remarked : 'Why should we be economical, since we are both to become Popes ?' Nothing seemed less likely to happen, yet in due time both became wearers of the triple crown. But Æneas had a past, and a very evil one. His most celebrated work was a novel called 'Lucretia and Euryalus.' It was far from edifying. He had also written love poems, epigrams, epitaphs, and many other treatises. But worst of all he had published letters to his father disclosing and defending the most flagrant immorality. 'Chastity,' he said, 'belongs to a saint.' And Æneas had no desire to be a saint. These writings were an undoubted hindrance to him in after years, but his most important work is his *Historical Commentary*, in which he traces the march of events in so able a manner as to deserve the title of 'the Herodotus of the fifteenth century.'

Æneas was a great diplomatist and traveller. He was sent on an embassy to London and to

Scotland, and wherever he went made careful notes of what he saw. He admired St. Paul's Cathedral, and was still more astonished at Canterbury and the shrine of St. Thomas 'covered with diamants, pearls, and carbuncles.' The Thames greatly excited his interest. It was 'a river which ran uphill.' By this he intended to describe its tidal flow—so strange to one accustomed only to the tideless Mediterranean. London Bridge, then covered with houses, seemed to him a city in itself. Scotland he found barren and treeless. Its houses were built without mortar, were roofed with turf, and had doors of ox-hide. York was a large and populous city, with its famous cathedral, 'with glass walls between slender pillars,' very different to the solid Italian basilicas.

As soon as he became Pope he issued a retraction in which he confessed his wicked and licentious life, and compared himself to Paul and Augustine. When his writings were quoted against him, especially those in which he had upheld the authority of Councils, he was wont to say: 'Follow what we now say; believe the old man rather than the youth; esteem not the layman higher than the Pope; reject Æneas, accept Pius.' In the famous Bull *Execrabile* Pius condemned as an 'execrable abuse, unheard of in ancient times,' any appeal to a future Council. This Bull

was a master-stroke against the authority of Councils, and became one of the main pillars of the Papal constitution.

In one respect Pius continued the policy of his predecessor. He was consumed with zeal against the Turks. He strove to rouse the Princes and peoples of Europe to a new crusade, though with very indifferent success, both France and England declining his overtures. Yet, though old and suffering from an incurable disease, he himself raised a new fleet, and was taken to Ancona that he might personally superintend operations, and 'that he might, like Moses, raise his hands to God during the battle, as he only had authority to do.' Very pathetic is the history of the old man taking the crusader's cross at St. Peter's, and after prayer at the high altar going forth borne upon his litter. But the task was too great. At Ancona Pius died, and a medal was struck in his honour, representing a pelican tearing open its breast to feed its young, with the legend: 'Like this bird I have fed my children with my heart's blood.'

His body was brought back to Rome by order of the Cardinals, and buried in the Church of San Andrea della Valle, where he had caused the head of the Apostle St. Andrew to be enshrined, which had been brought to him from the Peloponnesus. Pius II. was of small stature with a remarkably small

head, and with a face furrowed by study, fatigue, and disease. His figure is still perfectly preserved on his sarcophagus, and well expresses the features of one of the most scholarly and, from his intellectual gifts, most renowned of the long series of Popes. A medal, representing a table covered with books, with the words 'The offspring of a ready writer,' commemorates the literary work of Pius II.

Pietro Barbo, nephew of Eugenius IV., was the next Pope. He was one of a large class of Papal nephews, who gained the tiara through the nepotism of some former Pope. Pietro Barbo was the son of a great Venetian merchant, who married a sister of the Venetian monk Condalmieri. He was intended for business, and was just about to embark on a trading voyage to the East when he heard of his uncle's election to the Papacy. He was but thirteen years old, but he at once gave up business, went to study at Ferrara, took Holy Orders, and became Cardinal at twenty-two.

He had but very moderate ability, but was possessed of much personal beauty, and had a good presence. When elected Pope, he was so conscious of his handsome face that he wished to take the name of Formosus; but was persuaded by the Cardinals to adopt the title of PAUL II.

His taste was that of a noble Venetian merchant.

He delighted in personal adornment and splendid surroundings. He caused a new tiara to be made with jewels valued at 200,000 florins, and wore upon his finger a superb emerald. He presented his Cardinals with purple mantles and scarlet saddle-cloths, and supplemented the income of those who were poor. He gave great feasts to his officers, and provided strange carnival sports—races of buffaloes, asses, old men, and Jews—for the people of Rome. He liked nothing better than to walk in processions towering above other men, wearing his tiara adorned with sapphires, chrysolites, emeralds, diamonds, and rubies, brought from all parts of the world. He even stooped so low as to paint his face, that he might be thought the handsomest of Popes.

Nicholas V. had collected books and manuscripts to form the Vatican library. Paul II., with equal zeal, collected gems, medallions, and works of art. He first established a museum of antiquities and a cabinet of gems. Paul, however, utterly refused to pay salaries to about seventy humanists who had been appointed to sinecure posts by Nicholas, and thereby he raised up a host of enemies. Platina, the leader of the humanists and able biographer of the Popes, threatened to appeal to a Council, but he was cast into a hard imprisonment that soon brought him to his knees.

Some beautiful medals belong to this reign. One represents the Palace of St. Mark, Venice, restored by the Pope in 1470 ; another the Tribune of St. Peter's, erected by Paul at Rome. Others refer to the Turkish wars, and show the Master of Rhodes and his knights asking aid for the Pope ; and again the Pope with Cardinals and Princes assembled in Consistory to take measures against the Turks. A medal with the words *Lætitia Scholastica A. Bo.* represents the grateful joy of the University of Bologna for Papal benefits. Another very fine medal represents the hunting of the stag and wild boar, with the words 'The Good Shepherd only wages war with the wild beasts.' Some think it refers to the great hunt organized by the Pope in honour of the Duke of Ferrara, who visited Rome in 1471. More probably it expresses the Pope's approbation of the persecution of the Hussites in Bohemia. It was a favourite simile, and was employed even quite recently by the eminent theologian, Father Marcarius de Luca, S.J., who teaches that 'A good shepherd kills the wolves who attack the sheep ; therefore, the Catholic Church, as a good shepherd, ought to kill heretics.'

While the Pope was absorbed in splendid shows and magnificence, the Turk was ever drawing nearer and pressing onward. The fall of the great island of Negropont woke Italy to its own

PLATE II.



PAUL II.

A Boar Hunt emblematic of the
Persecution of the Hussites.

'The Good Shepherd wars only against wild beasts.'



LEO X.

JULIUS II.

danger, and the last act of Paul was to sign a league between the five chief Italian states—Venice, Naples, Florence, Milan, and the Papal States—against the common foe. Soon after this, on July 26, 1471, Paul II. was struck with apoplexy, and was found dead in his bed. Men said that he had been strangled by an evil spirit. He had given the red hat to three of his nephews, and reduced to twenty-five years the interval between the years of jubilee. Beyond this he had done nothing of note.

SECOND PERIOD

THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER V

SIXTUS IV. AND INNOCENT VIII. (1471-1492)

AT the death of Paul II. a new generation of Popes arose, who had nothing priestly about them but their dress. They felt and acted as Italian princes, and since they could not make their dignity hereditary, they endeavoured to make their nearest relations as rich and powerful as possible by heaping upon them all the principal offices and dignities while their little day lasted.

The first Pope who deliberately acted upon this idea was SIXTUS IV. He was a man of ignoble origin, but had gained reputation as a theologian and as a scholar, and in the Conclave was greatly helped by his nephew, a young Franciscan, Pietro Riario, who, seeing the indecision of the Cardinals, made bargains with the great Cardinals Orsini, Borgia, and Gonzaga, who all received rich abbeys and high offices as the price of their votes.

Sixtus was a man imbued with the modern Italian spirit ; he saw that the day for antiquated crusades was past, and after a feeble attempt against

the Turkish fleet, he threw himself heart and soul into the seething turmoil of Italian intrigue.

Although he had signed the usual promise against nepotism, which had been regularly made in the Conclave for the last forty years, he at once began with all the zeal of an upstart to enrich and ennoble his family. At his very first consistory, in spite of remonstrances, he made two of his nephews, Giuliano Rovere and Pietro Riario, Cardinals, and later on gave red hats to four more, so that six of his nephews became Princes of the Church.

Giuliano, who was already Bishop of Carpentras, was made in addition Archbishop of Bologna; Bishop of Lausanne, Constance, Viviers, and Mende in Savoy and France, and of Ostia and Velletri in Italy; Abbot of Nonantola, Grotto Ferrata, and a few other places. Pietro Riario, generally reported to have been the Pope's own son, was enriched more thoroughly still. This young monk of St. Francis at once plunged with energy into every excess of luxury and debauchery. His feasts recalled those of Lucullus. When he entertained the Princess of Naples in his palace, the walls were covered with costly tapestry. Gold and silver, silks and satins, were seen everywhere. Peacocks were served up in their feathers, and every bird and beast that could be procured was

brought on gold trays borne by four squires. There were huge castles of confectionery and ships of sweetmeats, which were tasted by the guests and then flung to the crowd outside. The attendants were dressed in silk, and the seneschal wore a collar of gold and pearls. In two years it was over. The Cardinal-nephew died at twenty-eight, worn out by excess, leaving a huge mass of debts for the old Pope to liquidate. But plenty of brothers and nephews and cousins were left to Sixtus, whom he proceeded to enrich by Church preferments and civil war and political intrigue. Girolamo Riario, made Count of Imola, was now the favourite nephew, and involved the Pope in a bloody feud with the House of Medici and the city of Florence. At last the great House of Colonna rose up against the Pope in Rome itself. But Girolamo swore to lay every castle of the Colonna level with the ground, and the Vicar of Christ in his pontifical robes solemnly blessed the cannons of civil war. Oddo Colonna was taken prisoner, and to save his brother's life Fabrizio Colonna surrendered Marino to the Pope. But in vain did he trust to the mercy of Sixtus: Oddo was subjected to cruel tortures, and made to confess treason, after which he was executed. His mother opened the coffin of her son, and when she had seen the corpse scarred by torture, lifted the head which had been

severed by the axe, and cried aloud : ‘Behold the head of my son and the faith of Pope Sixtus, who promised that if we gave up Marino he would give up my son ! He has Marino, and I have my son’s corpse—such is his faith !’ A week after, the devoted mother died. In 1475 occurred the Year of Jubilee, but few pilgrims came to visit the Holy City, in which was little to attract a pious soul. Several medals represent the opening of the holy door for the jubilee of Pope Sixtus.

Like all the Italian Princes of his day, Sixtus was a great patron of art and letters. He widened the streets of Rome and built the Sistine Chapel, afterwards to become so famous by the paintings of Michael Angelo. Yet Sixtus had a strong and coarse nature. He hopelessly lowered the moral standard of the Papacy, and prepared the way for even worse successors. He introduced the system of Cardinal-nephews, as is witnessed by the medal struck in his honour by Giuliano Rovere—*Card. Nepos*. His death came without warning in the midst of all his craft and splendour. At his funeral the monks fought for the gold brocade which covered the bier, and the costly rings and ornaments were stripped from his very person as his body was carried to San Agostino. Nevertheless his nephew, who afterwards became Pope Julius II., erected a bronze monument to his

terrible uncle's memory. It is the first Papal monument adorned with half-naked allegorical figures, which fitly represent the strange mixture of heathen thought with Christian forms which characterized the Renaissance Popes.

The sudden death of Sixtus IV. threw all Rome into confusion. At the news of the Pope's decease the mob rose, and plundered the house of Girolamo Rovere, smashing everything breakable, even to the marble doorposts of the palace. So quickly was the Vatican spoiled, that the necessary vessels for washing the body of the late Pope were with difficulty forthcoming.

The banished Cardinal Colonna returned at once with two thousand armed men and added to the confusion. After much contention, amounting almost to civil war, the rival factions of the Orsini and Colonna agreed on a truce, and withdrew from the city for a month during the election of a new Pope. At length Cardinal Cibo, the candidate put forward by Giuliano Rovere, the ablest of the nephews of Sixtus, was elected, though not without wire-pulling, intrigue, and bribery. John Baptist Cibo was born at Genoa; he belonged to an illustrious family which had migrated from Greece to Italy. He was a tall, handsome man, chiefly notorious for the number of his avowed illegitimate

children. On the principle of contrariety to facts he took the name of INNOCENT VIII.

Giuliano della Rovere was now the power behind the throne. The Pope was idle and self-indulgent, and the astute Cardinal led him into the bloody feuds of the Italian Princes. Meanwhile Rome was full of rapine and murder. Everything was to be bought at the Vatican for gold. At one stroke Innocent made fifty-two new secretaryships, which he sold for 3,500 florins apiece. An innkeeper who had murdered both his daughters escaped with a fine of 800 florins. The greed and profligacy of the Cardinals grew apace; their houses became notoriously immoral. The sacred vessels of the churches were stolen, and the secretaries of the *Curia* even forged the Papal Bulls. The Pope's son was amongst the worst of these wicked men, and pursued his profligate course unchecked by his weak father. The character of Innocent and his rule was ably summed up by the General of the Augustinian Order: 'He was elected in darkness, he lives in darkness, and in darkness he will die.'

Although he was by no means zealously inclined, he yet stirred up persecution against the Waldenses in North Italy, and by his Bull in 1487 he charged the Nuncio to require the King of France and Duke of Savoy to extirpate the

Waldenses, and authorized him 'to preach a crusade against them, and to offer to the faithful who assisted him plenary indulgences and pardon once in their lives for all their sins.' The Pope also gave liberty to anyone to seize their goods, and released all men from all obligations and contracts entered into with the Waldenses; and declared that all Kings and magistrates should be deposed who refused to obey the Nuncio in this matter.

The great excitement of this reign was the arrival of Prince Djem, brother of the Sultan of Constantinople, whom the Pope undertook to keep in captivity for a sum of 35,000 florins a year. After three years, during which Djem had been safely kept a prisoner, the Sultan sent an embassy to the Pope to convey to him as a present the iron lance-head with which the side of Christ was pierced on the cross, and which was received and venerated as a most precious and authentic relic.

We need only further notice the murder of Girolamo Riario by three of his own bodyguard, who wished to rid the world of a second Nero. Whether Innocent was privy to the plot is doubtful, but undoubtedly the Pope had got tired of the Rovere family, and was desirous of reversing their policy by throwing himself into the hands of

the Florentine Medici. In order to please the great Lorenzo de' Medici, Innocent made his son Giovanni a Cardinal at the age of fifteen, and allowed him to enter into full possession of his dignities at the age of eighteen. Another new Cardinal was the Pope's nephew, Lorenzo Cibo, the illegitimate son of his brother.

At length the end came. The Pope became sick of a fever, and began to sink. A Jewish physician offered to cure him by giving him a drink made of the blood of three healthy boys. They were hired for the purpose at a florin apiece, but the boys and the Pope died together in the experiment.

His monument in bronze, by a celebrated Florentine artist, stands in St. Peter's, and represents the Pope holding the sacred spear-head, the gift of the Sultan Bajazes, in his left hand, while he bestows the Papal blessing with his right hand. The inscription records his one claim to respect as 'the constant guardian of the peace of Italy.' His easy good-nature and indolence inclined him to peace, and as soon as the Rovere influence was at an end he became in this way a real benefactor to Italy. England also owed to Pope Innocent a Bull which tended to establish peace by settling the succession to the children of Henry VII. Another Bull limited the rights of

sanctuary in England, and so helped Henry VII. to maintain order. It was said that this Bull was a reward for the complimentary speech of the English Ambassador; for 'the Pope, knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian world, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such echoes of him sounding in so distant parts.'

It is, however, to be recorded in Innocent's favour that he showed some compassion towards the Jews. Instead of cursing their nation publicly amid the howls and insults of the Roman mob, as all his predecessors since Callixtus II. had done, he received the Jewish elders privately in the castle of St. Angelo. Burchard, who was present at the ceremony, records how the Jewish deputation presented the copy of the Pentateuch, written on parchment, bound in gold, and covered with a veil. Kneeling before the Pope, the chief of the deputation said in Hebrew: 'Most Holy Father, we Israelites beseech you, in the name of our synagogue, that the law of Moses, given to him by Almighty God on Mount Sinai, may be conceded and allowed to us, as by other eminent Popes, the predecessors of your Holiness, it has been conceded and allowed.' To which Innocent replied, 'We concede to you the law, but we curse your creed and your interpretation; for He of whom you

say, "He will come," has already come, our Lord Jesus Christ, as is taught and professed by our Church.'

The reign of Innocent VIII. was both ignoble and disastrous to the Roman people. With such evil examples in high places, immorality and corruption could not fail to advance throughout Italy. Men hoped that they had seen the worst, and that better days would follow ; but it was not yet to be, there was still worse to follow.

CHAPTER VI

ALEXANDER VI. (BORGIA), 1492-1503

TWENTY-FIVE Cardinals entered the next Conclave. Ascanius Sforza was one of the most powerful, but his vote was secured by Cardinal Borgia in return for 'four horse-loads of gold,' his own palace with all its contents, and the promise of high office. All but five Cardinals were open to bribes, the nonagenarian patriarch of Venice selling his vote for only 5,000 florins.

When Borgia was elected, his first cry of delight was, 'I am Pope and Vicar of Christ !' When asked what title he chose to assume, he replied, 'We desire the name of the invincible Alexander.' He was therefore crowned as ALEXANDER VI. At once the crowd of Court poets hailed his accession with exaggerated flattery. One wrote : 'Rome was made great by Cæsar, but now Alexander makes it far greater. The first was a man, the second is a god.'

Alexander VI. was the handsomest Pope since Paul II. He rode on a snow-white horse in

festal processions, and greatly impressed the people of Rome by his striking and dignified personality. At first he displayed great vigour. During the last two months of the previous reign, no less than 220 murders had been committed ; but the new Pope reformed the courts, restored order, and established peace.

But the character of Alexander was marred by a terrible fault, which ruined his life and made his name a byword for ever. He was addicted to the grossest and most abominable immorality. The first notice we have of his life is a letter from Pius II., reproving the Cardinal Borgia, then twenty-nine years old, for his disgraceful and scandalous conduct at a garden-party at Siena. Before he was made Pope, all the world knew that he was the acknowledged father of at least six illegitimate children, of whom Cesare Borgia and the unhappy Lucrezia were the most famous, or rather infamous.

At the first creation of Cardinals after his accession, which included John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander prudently gave the red hat to representatives of all the great Powers and the leading Italian States ; but two creations were of the most scandalous character. One of these was the Pope's wicked son, Cesare Borgia, then only eighteen ; and the other, which

gave rise to a greater scandal still, was Alessandro Farnese, afterwards Paul III., who owed his elevation to the immoral relations of his mother, Giulia, with the Pope. In derisive allusion to this fact he was called 'Il Cardinale della gonnella' (the Cardinal of the petticoat).

The Pope's punishment came from his own household. He had made his eldest son Duke of Gandia, but Cesare hated and envied his half-brother, and burned with jealousy against him. On Palm Sunday, 1497, the two brothers received the consecrated palms from the hands of their father before the altar of St. Peter's, and it was hoped that a reconciliation had been effected. Not long after, Cesare invited the Duke to supper in a country vineyard which he had outside the walls of Rome. In the morning the body of the Duke of Gandia was drawn out of the river, pierced with nine wounds.

Alexander was nearly beside himself with grief at the loss of his eldest son. He professed the deepest penitence for his sins, and appointed a commission of Cardinals to draw up a plan of general reformation. Even the excommunicated Savonarola was so touched by the news of the Pope's grief, that he wrote him a letter of condolence, in which he said, 'The Lord in His mercy passeth over all sins.'

But the Pope's repentance was short-lived. Cesare Borgia, whom Rome and all Italy pointed out as the murderer, now became supreme. The city trembled at the mention of his name. Cesare wanted money, and had rich enemies, and every night their murdered bodies were found in the streets. Every one who dared to oppose his will was strangled and thrown into the Tiber, or else poisoned by 'the poison of the Borgias,' and the Pope looked on and even took part in his son's guilty pleasures. Some of these are too awful to be even hinted at in these pages.

The details of what went on in the Vatican Palace during the reigns of Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., and Leo X., are known to us from the diary of John Burchard, Master of Ceremonies to the Pope, which was continued by his successor, Paris de Grassis. These two men set down, day by day, their record of events as they occurred. They make no comment; they impute no motive; they simply say what happened, and they tell us of things so shocking that they cannot be translated from the Latin in which they lie hid—so terrible, that unless they had been corroborated by more than one witness, they would be incredible and unthinkable. In the words of the historian Froude, 'the details are totally unmentionable.'

Such was the state of the Roman Court, that the Cardinal of Gurk protested to the Florentine Ambassador that he would never go to Rome again, saying, 'When I think on the life of the Pope and some of the Cardinals, I have a horror of the Court of Rome, and have no wish to return till God reforms His Church.'

When the Cardinal Monreale died suddenly, the Venetian Ambassador reported that his estate, to which the Pope was heir, amounted to 100,000 florins, and added, 'The Cardinal has been sent the way that all the other well-fattened ones have gone.' But enough—the half has not and cannot be told of all the wickedness of this wicked Pope and his wicked relations and favourites.

Yet even in the days of Alexander God did not leave Himself without a witness. While at Rome the Pope gave himself up to all manner of abomination : at Florence Savonarola preached of righteousness, temperance, and the judgment to come. Alexander was not eager to persecute Savonarola ; even his bad heart was touched by the prophet's words. But no third course was possible ; either the Pope must repent and reform, or Savonarola must be silenced. Excommunication was tried in vain. Then torture wrung from the preacher's frail body a miserable so-called confession, and at last, on May 28, 1498, he was

unfrocked and degraded by the Pope's commissioners, and handed over to the secular arm as a heretic, to be hanged and burnt by the Signory of Florence.

Alexander, having thus tasted the sweets of persecution, dispatched inquisitors to Moravia with orders to proceed against the Bohemian Brothers, and to burn all their heretical books. Some of these Brothers had been present at the burning of Savonarola, and had gone back to Bohemia filled with sorrow and indignation at the wickedness of the Papal Court, but Alexander's commissioners contented themselves with burning their books. The worst Popes were not the greatest persecutors.

At length the cup of the Borgias was full. By the resolute energy and consummate diplomacy of Cesare, combined with the unscrupulous tyranny of the Pope, a small principedom had been patched together out of the lesser Italian States. They had driven the Sforzas out of Pesaro, the Malatestas out of Rimini, and the Manfredi out of Faenza. The Duke of Urbino was a fugitive in his own territory, while the inferior nobles were taken into the pay of Cesare, who ruled them with an iron hand; but in the very hour of victory, when their enemies had been subdued beneath them, and the gains of assassination and

of poisoning had been swept into their coffers, the end came. Whether, as some said, the Pope by mistake took poison intended for another, or whether he was seized by a malignant malarial fever, will never be known. With awful suddenness the wicked Pope died on August 18, 1503. The Marquis of Mantua wrote that he had been heard to murmur in his last illness, 'I am coming. Only wait a little.' It was believed that he had made a bargain with the Devil for twelve years of the Papacy, and the bond was four days overdue. Joy and horror filled the city, and even the pious felt with shuddering relief that the Pope must have gone to Hell.

One Pope after another had tried to found a sovereign dynasty in his family, but with the life of the Pope the power of his descendants always ended. It was so even with the astute and powerful Borgia. Under new Popes the fortunes of Cesare sank lower and lower. Ere long the hated Cardinal fled for fear of his life, but was taken prisoner and carried to Madrid. After two years he managed to escape, and fell in a petty battle with a rebellious vassal of the King of Navarre, at the age of thirty-one.

Alexander was a representative man of his evil day. It was a day of criminal self-seeking, and profligate viciousness, when nothing was held

sacred and nothing was revered, when piety was ridiculed, and vice reigned unabashed and triumphant. The words of Savonarola were as true as they were severe :

‘I hereby testify in the word of the Lord, that this Alexander is no true Pope, nor can be held as one ; inasmuch as, leaving aside the mortal sin of simony, . . . and likewise putting aside his other manifest vices, I declare that he is no Christian, and believes in no God, the which surpasses the height of all infidelity.’

It was against this Pope that the first of the witty and stinging verses called ‘Pasquinades’ were affixed to the beautiful, but much mutilated statue standing behind the Palazzo Braschi. Some were too dreadful to be quoted, but one of the most celebrated runs thus :

‘Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero—this also is Sextus ;
Always under the Sextuses Rome has been ruined.’

No monument was ever erected to his memory, nor so much as a grave granted to his corpse. It still lies unburied in the sacristy of Santa Maria di Monserrato in a wooden coffin, with that of Callixtus III. Upon the lid is inscribed in Spanish :

‘The bones of two Popes are enclosed in this chest—those of Callixtus, and those of Alexander VI. They were both Spaniards.’

CHAPTER VII

PIUS III. AND JULIUS II. (1503-1513)

ON learning the news of the death of Alexander Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, nephew of Sixtus IV., left his place of retirement and returned to Rome. He found, however, that Cesare had still a strong following led by the six Spanish Cardinals, who were devoted to his interests. It was therefore necessary for Rovere to temporize and abide his time. Accordingly he furthered the election of Cardinal Piccolomini, nephew of Pius II., who took the name of Pius III.

The new Pope was known to be ill with an incurable malady, and it was to this fact that he owed his election. It was thought impossible for him to live more than a year. In reality he only reigned twenty-six days. Piccolomini, though a Cardinal and enjoying the title and revenues of Archbishop of Siena, was not even in priests' Orders. He was therefore at once ordained priest, and the following day was consecrated Bishop, and

a week after crowned as Pope. He chose the singular device of a hand holding a birch rod and an olive twig with the words, 'Punishment or Reward.' Thus he announced the just and good principles by which he meant to reign had his life been spared.

Meanwhile Rovere had made his bargain with Cesare, and secured the Spanish vote. The other Cardinals were easily bribed. So shameless was the whole transaction that Giustiani, the Venetian Ambassador, wrote that the Papacy had been sold by auction to the highest bidder. The Conclave was the shortest on record ; it only lasted one hour. Giuliano della Rovere was unanimously elected. He wished to keep his own name, and was known as JULIUS II. His coronation took place on November 26, 1503, because the astrologers had promised a lucky conjunction of planets for that day.

Julius very soon found a pretext for a quarrel with Cesare, and sent him as prisoner to Spain. The Pope professed the deepest horror for the crimes of his predecessor. He called him a 'Moor and a circumcised Jew.' He refused to inhabit the rooms in the Vatican which had been used by Alexander, saying that they recalled too vividly the memories of his crimes. In his Bull of Restitution of the Duchy of Sermoneta, he

gave as his reason for so acting that 'Our predecessor, desiring to enrich his own kin, through no zeal for justice but by fraud and deceit, sought for causes of depriving the Gaetani of their possessions.'

Julius did indeed provide liberally for his own nephews, but he did not try to found a dynasty for them. He was a brilliant diplomatist and a good soldier, but his victories were not for his own family, but for the Church. He cut down the expenses of the Vatican, put an end to the riotous feasts which had been too common, and spent the income of the Holy See in adorning Rome and equipping the Papal forces.

At the very beginning of his reign Julius announced his intention of winning back the lost territories of the Church. He first proceeded against Perugia, and with the sacred Host solemnly carried before him, he entered the city with only 500 men at his back. The tyrant of Perugia, awed by the courage of the Pope, submitted and made terms. With augmented forces the Pope next advanced against Bologna, and when its Prince fled, marched into the city under a triumphal arch inscribed : 'To Julius, the Expeller of Tyrants.'

It was now the turn of the Republic of Venice, which had taken possession of four cities claimed

by the Church. 'I will make Venice once more a little fishing village!' cried the angry Pontiff to the Ambassador. 'And we, Holy Father,' was the reply, 'will make you once more a little priest.' During the war which followed against Venice, a remarkable protest was made by the Venetians against the Pope's desire to increase the temporal dominion of the Holy See. It took the form of a Latin letter purporting to come from 'Jesus Christ, Son of the Virgin Mary, to our unworthy Vicar, Julius II.,' and after a moderate and dignified remonstrance, it ended 'Given from Our celestial throne on the 26th day of December in the year of Our Nativity on earth, 1509.' The Pope, however, persisted in his design, and in two months the proud State of Venice was suing for mercy at his feet. Julius dealt very leniently with Venice, for he knew too well the value of such a bulwark against the Turk.

The first great object of the Pope was now attained. The Romagna was conquered, and the Papal dominion firmly established. 'For good or for evil Julius II. was the true founder of the Papal States.' He now proceeded to effect his second purpose of freeing Italy from the foreigner. With this aim the Pope made a Holy League with Spain and Venice to drive the French beyond the Alps. The Pope took the field in person. 'At

sixty-five,' the Venetian Ambassador wrote, 'the Pope, though suffering from gout and other maladies, is still in fulness of strength and activity, and wishes to be lord and master of the world.' In order to conquer Mirandola from the French, Julius rose from a bed of sickness, crossed the trenches on the ice, and took the city by storm. When the town surrendered, he could not wait for the gates to be opened, but himself mounted by a scaling-ladder over the breach. By the spring of 1512, notwithstanding a brilliant victory at Ravenna, the French had lost every possession which they held in Italy.

One of the enemies of Julius wrote of him at this time : 'His terrible brow, hiding fierce eyes, with threats of hell-fire blazing in his mouth. Behold him! the author of such destruction and so much crime, born a bitter pest of the human race, whose work and recreation is death. Unlike Christ, unlike Peter, what does he do, or what is there is about him worthy the name of Roman Pontiff?'

This language is doubtless exaggerated, but Julius was essentially a fighting Pope. He even set up over the church door of a conquered city a statue of himself cast from its captured cannon. There was nothing of the ecclesiastic about him but the name and the office. When Michael

Angelo was completing the bronze statue of the Pope for Bologna, the sculptor asked whether he should place a book in his left hand. 'No!' exclaimed Julius, 'give me a sword. I am no schoolman !'

Indignant at the Pope's action, Louis summoned a Council which met first at Pisa and adjourned to Milan. Only eighteen prelates obeyed the summons. It was a mere shadow of a Council, but inspired by French politics and protected by French cannon, they proceeded to depose Julius from the Papacy. The Pope at once replied by summoning a far greater Council at Rome, which is known as the fifth Lateran Council. This Council assembled on April 21, 1512. The English Commissioners sent by the King were the Bishops of Rochester and Worcester, the Lord Prior of St. John's, and the Abbot of Winchcombe. The Council suspended the Pragmatic Sanction in France, laid the French kingdom under an Interdict, condemned conciliar action apart from the Pope, and endorsed the doctrine of absolute Papal Supremacy.

At the beginning of his reign, by a Bull dated January 8, 1503, notwithstanding the opposition of many of the Cardinals, Julius II. granted the unhappy dispensation to King Henry VIII. to marry Catherine of Aragon, his elder brother

Arthur's widow. The Popes have always assumed the power to dispense at will with the obligations of the marriage law ; and in this particular case Julius followed the example of Martin V., who had granted permission to the Count de Foix to marry his brother's widow, and that of Alexander VI., who allowed Manuel, King of Portugal, to marry two sisters in succession.

Julius II. throughout his entire reign was on the most friendly terms with Henry VIII., and readily granted him permission to remove the remains of Henry VI. from their ignoble resting-place to the royal chapel in Westminster Abbey. Moreover, at the request of the King the Pope ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury to collect information concerning the virtues of Henry VI., and the miracles said to have been wrought through him, with a view to his future canonization.

Early in 1513 Julius died. He was one of the most remarkable men of his day, and had been successful in all his plans. His name stands out as the great Pope of the Renaissance. He was the patron of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Bramante—the most celebrated painter, the most renowned sculptor, and the greatest architect of the Middle Ages—and they all served him well. Raphael painted his portrait more than once;

Michael Angelo wrought at his statues and his tomb; Bramante designed the mighty church of St. Peter, whose foundation-stone was laid by Julius in 1506. A beautiful medal shows us the original design of the façade flanked by two noble towers.

The frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, the loggia of Bramante, and the stanze of Raphael are among the imperishable monuments of this reign. The statue of Moses by Michael Angelo, which is seated in the central niche of the tomb of Julius in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, is perhaps the highest achievement of the sculptor's art since the days of the ancient Greeks. Thus another of the great ideas of Julius was realized—that 'Rome should be his monument.'

CHAPTER VIII

LEO X. (1513-1521)

IN succession to Julius the Cardinals elected a spoiled child of fortune, Giovanni de' Medici, the second son of Lorenzo de' Medici, surnamed the Magnificent. He was only thirty-seven when elected Pope, but had worn the purple from his childhood, for he had been made Abbot of Fontevault at the age of seven, and after receiving many other valuable pieces of preferment, was made Cardinal by Innocent VIII. at the age of fifteen. The new Pope assumed the title of LEO X. Like his predecessor, he was not yet in priests' Orders, and was ordained priest on March 15, consecrated Bishop on the 17th, and crowned as Pope on the 19th of the same month.

The election of the young Cardinal was a great surprise. It was due to the desire of the majority of the Cardinals for some rest and peace after the warlike activity of Julius II. They knew that the Cardinal de' Medici had been brought up among the best writers and artists of Italy, and

was devoted to literary and artistic tastes, and they judged that such a man would be inclined to peace and to the advancement of all that the Renaissance represented.

They were not mistaken. Immediately after his election Leo turned to his brothers and said : 'The Papacy is ours ; let us enjoy it.' He did not, however, mean to indulge in the licentious profligacy of Alexander VI., but rather rejoiced at his immense opportunities of patronizing the arts which he loved.

His first act made this plain. So splendid an inaugural procession had never been seen before in Rome. Everywhere the houses were decorated with statues of Venus and Apollo, or heads of the old Roman Emperors, to please the new Mæcenæ. A large triumphal arch was erected by the wealthy Papal banker, Chigi, and bore this device (referring to Popes Alexander and Julius) : 'Venus held rule before ; then came Mars ; but now Pallas Athena mounts the throne.' Another bore the inscription : 'Mars was ; Pallas is ; but I, Venus, abide for ever.' These inscriptions sufficiently show the spirit of the age, which was a mixture of old Paganism with the outward forms of the Roman Church.

The Court of the Vatican again became crowded with venal poets. There are said to have been no

less than 120 poets resident in Rome in the reign of Leo, and all these vied with one another in fulsome praise of the new Pope expressed in elegantly phrased elegiac couplets. One of them, Vitalis Castalio, declares that Leo's election gave the greatest joy to both gods and men, and in the opening lines of his poem, says : ' Now a new Jupiter comes down from lofty Olympus to the earth.' Another poet, John Capito of Arretium, goes even further. One of his elegiacs runs thus : ' If to serve God is to reign, thou mayest reign by serving Leo ; for Leo is God upon earth.' One of the early medals of his reign represents on the reverse an angel placing a crown upon the head of a lion with the words : ' The Lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered.'

The favourite amusement of the Pope was music. He sang himself, and took infinite delight in concerts. He was also, fond of acting, and especially delighted in comedies which were frequently performed in his presence. Raphael himself sometimes painted and arranged the stage decorations. At times these comedies were so free, not to say improper in character, that the ambassadors present were much offended at such performances in the Papal presence. Leo would reward bountifully those who were successful, but one poor monk whose piece was a failure was

tossed in a blanket before him. The Pope was also fond of cards, and his losses often amounted to a considerable sum.

The age of Leo X. has often been styled the Augustan age of the Renaissance. It was rendered illustrious by the works of the three great artists whom Julius II. had employed. Under Leo, Bramante finished the vast dome of St. Peter's, while Michael Angelo and Raphael advanced even further in their glorious work of painting and statuary, and men of letters crowded from all sides to Rome, and received a warm welcome and the best posts. The chief novelists and historians of the day were made bishops or at least apostolic secretaries, although many of them, especially Pietro Bembo, Leo's secretary, were more pagan than Christian in their writings. One great exception must be made. Far away in Spain, Cardinal Ximenes was engaged in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible which he dedicated to Leo X., and in his noble preface he expresses his earnest desire 'to revive the hitherto neglected study of the Sacred Scriptures.' But at Rome to enjoy life without thought or care for the future, to admire a new statue of Venus, a new Latin poem after the manner of Ovid, or a new painting of Raphael was the be-all and end-all of Leo and his Court. The old Papal legends were ridiculed

and laughed to scorn, and Leo himself went even further when he said: 'What profit has not that fable of Christ brought us?'

The frightful extravagance of Julius and of Leo and their prodigal expenditure on art required an enormous revenue far beyond the ordinary income of the Papal See. This was met partly by a lavish sale of Indulgences, the abuse of which became a chief cause of the German Reformation, and also by a system somewhat resembling the modern system of national debts. It was effected in a singular way by the creation of countless sinecure offices, which secured to the occupants an income for life in return for a sum down. Alexander VI. created sixty writers of briefs, each of whom paid 750 scudi for his office. Julius II. added upon the same terms 100 writers of archives; but Leo outstripped all his predecessors. He not only obtained large sums for nominating new Cardinals, but he created no less than 1,200 new offices which were made simply for the purpose of selling them, thus raising the number of offices to 2,150, with yearly salaries or 320,000 scudi. He has been accused of squandering the incomes of three Popes—that of his predecessor who left a large treasure, his own, and that of his successor to whom he bequeathed a mass of debts. Leo would fain have been at

peace with all the world, that he might enjoy the Papacy to the full, but this could not be. War was forced upon him. Spain and France were engaged in a deadly struggle for the possession of Italy and the leadership of the world, and the Pope first sided with France, and then, ever fickle, joined the league to drive the French from Italy. The Battle of Marignano, however, made the young King Francis I. master of Northern Italy ; and the Pope was obliged to conclude a humiliating concordat, and to permit the French King to nominate the French Bishops to their sees ; while the Roman States themselves were placed under the protection of France.

But a still greater difficulty had to be faced. The awful abuse of Indulgences and the sale in the market-places of Germany of Papal documents by Tetzels, purporting to release a soul from Purgatory each time a silver coin was dropped into his box, were opening men's eyes to the hollowness of the Papal claims. Those who, like Luther, journeyed to Rome were shocked and scandalized by what they saw at the Papal Court, and loudly demanded a thorough Reformation. Leo cared nothing for heretical doctrines, but he did care for anything that touched the sale of Indulgences and stopped the flow of gold towards Rome. So he issued first a decretal upon Indul-

gences, and when this produced no effect he sent forth his celebrated Bull, 'Exsurge Domine,' in which he drew up forty-one propositions found in the works of Martin Luther on Indulgences, Purgatory, the Sacraments, and the Papal monarchy, which he condemned as 'heretical, or scandalous, or false, or offensive to pious ears, or seducing to simple minds, or standing in the way of the Catholic faith.' This Bull, together with Papal decretals, was solemnly burnt by Luther at Wittenburg. As the great Reformer flung the books into the flames, he said: 'As thou hast vexed the Holy One of the Lord, may the eternal fire vex thee.' It was but an equal retaliation for the language of the Pope and for the Papal order to burn all books and treatises of Luther.

About this time Henry VIII., King of England, entered the fray, and by his book, 'A Defence of the Seven Sacraments,' brought joy to the heart of Leo. Dr. John Clarke, Dean of Windsor and English Ambassador to the Holy See, presented a richly bound copy to the Pope in full Consistory. Leo, receiving the book, promised to do as much for the approbation thereof as ever was done for the works of St. Augustine or St. Jerome, and assured the Ambassador that at the next Consistory he would bestow a public title on the King. Many titles were placed before the

Cardinals, such as Protector or Defender of the Roman Church, or of the Apostolical Chair ; or Apostolical, or Orthodox King. After much debate they at last agreed upon the title *Defensor Fidei* (Defender of the Faith). This title, which has been retained by English Sovereigns to the present day, was then conferred on the King by a Bull under the Fisherman's seal.* The German Emperor also sided with the Pope, and reduced Luther to silence for a time, and was preparing to drive the French out of Italy. For a moment it seemed as though the Pope's plans were all prospering, and that the longed-for peace in Church and State was arriving.

But the end of Leo X. was rapidly drawing near. A slight cold, caught on a hunting expedition, suddenly developed into a fever, and to the consternation of all around him, Leo died in the forty-sixth year of his age, before he had time to receive extreme unction or the last sacraments. The Roman people accompanied his body to the grave with reproaches and insults. 'You glided in like a fox,' they said, 'you ruled like a lion, you have died like a dog.' Leo was buried in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the conjunction of the names fitly representing the blending of Christianity with Paganism, which characterized this Pope and his times.

* See Appendix B.

CHAPTER IX

ADRIAN VI. (1521-1522)

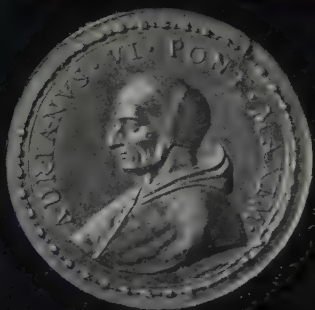
THE death of Leo filled the Cardinals with consternation. Never was there so much confusion or so much wrangling at a Conclave. England, France, and Spain each fought for their own candidate. Henry VIII. was especially zealous on behalf of Cardinal Wolsey, the English candidate. At one time it seemed probable that Wolsey would have been elected, and in that case the history of the Church of England would have been greatly changed. We may be allowed to reckon it one of the providences of God to England that the English Cardinal did not succeed.

In the midst of a frightful tumult Cardinal de' Medici, himself the candidate of the Italian party, rose and said: 'Sirs, I see that from among us, here assembled, no Pope can be chosen. We must seek a Pope from those who are not present.' They asked him whom he had in mind. 'Take,' said he, 'an aged, venerable man, the Cardinal of

Tortosa, who is generally esteemed a Saint.' This was Adrian of Utrecht, a man of obscure birth, but a devout and learned scholar, who had been tutor to the Emperor Charles V., and had risen through the attachment of his pupil to the post of Viceroy of Spain and to the dignity of Cardinal of Tortosa. No one knew him. He had never been in Rome, and could not speak Italian. But a sudden impulse seized the whole assembly. Hardly knowing what they did, or why they did it, the Cardinals raised the cry: 'We have a Pope!' At last the election was unanimous. Surely it was the Divine Mercy giving to the corrupt Court of Rome one chance of reforming itself before the just judgment of God fell upon them.

The Roman mob at once showed how great was their degradation. They received the name of this upright, pious, learned Pope with howls of indignation. They screamed out their curses at the Cardinals as they went to their homes, accusing them of robbing Rome of its Pope and of delivering over the fair Vatican to a German's fury. Each Cardinal slunk away dejected and downcast. One of them, the Cardinal of Mantua, even thanked the mob for having been content with abuse instead of hurling stones at those who had been guilty of such stupidity.

PLATE III.



ADRIAN VI



The Coronation of Adrian VI.
'Whom they create, him they adore.'



JULIUS III.



The Pope bids England rise in the
person of Queen Mary. Charles V.,
Philip II., Catharine of Aragon,
and Cardinal Pole assist.

For some days the Cardinals did not venture to leave their palaces. An inscription was placed on the gates of the Vatican, 'To Let,' and a popular caricature represented Adrian as birching the Cardinals like a set of naughty schoolboys. The 2,500 officials of Leo, who had paid large sums for their offices, waited with dismay for the arrival of the strict churchman from the North.

When the messenger of the Conclave arrived at Vittoria with the news of the election, and flung himself at Adrian's feet, crying, 'Holy Father,' he at first refused to believe him. When convinced that the election had been really made, he long hesitated before accepting the proffered crown. 'I would rather serve God,' he said, 'in my priory at Louvain than be Pope. At last, however, reflecting on the danger of a refusal, he accepted the Papacy with a sad heart, but trusting in the grace of God. He kept his own name, and assumed the title of ADRIAN VI.

When the Pope arrived at Rome, on August 31, 1522, he found everything in the greatest disorder. The mass of debt incurred by Leo pressed heavily on the Church. To meet the necessary current expenditure, the Cardinals had even pawned the tapestries of Raphael and the silver statues in the Sistine Chapel. Chaos reigned everywhere. The Duke of Camerino had just been

assassinated at the very gates of Rome, and two bravos who were executed confessed to 116 murders between them.

Adrian at once proceeded to cut down expenses. With a stroke of his pen he cancelled the appointments of more than 2,000 persons to sinecure offices, and thus turned adrift a crowd of angry and defrauded officials. It was but a poor consolation to remind them that their contracts made with his predecessor were all illegal. Whereas Leo kept one hundred grooms in his stable, Adrian was content with four. An old Flemish housekeeper and two young Spanish pages sufficed for his own personal wants, while his table expenses were limited to a florin a day. So little idea had Adrian of the state kept by the Popes at Rome that he wrote beforehand that a moderate house and garden should be hired for his abode. When he beheld the Vatican, he exclaimed that the successors of Constantine, not of St. Peter, should dwell there.

At his first Consistory Adrian earnestly exhorted the Cardinals to reform their lives. He set before them a noble picture of a true minister of Christ placed in a position of trust to guide the Church. He pointed out the terrible peril of the Turk, who was steadily advancing in Europe, and besought them to spend their money, not on

personal adornment and worldly luxury, but in equipping troops to defend Christendom from the Turkish invasion.

It was all in vain. The Cardinals looked upon his austere figure, and hated the man who told them the truth. The Pope was beset with difficulties on all sides. The Cardinals refused to move, and the Turk became master of Rhodes. When the Pope heard the news, he fixed his eyes on the ground, uttered not a word, but sighed deeply.

Meanwhile the Roman Catholic Princes of Germany met in Diet at Nuremberg, and addressed to Adrian a petition for the remedy of a 'Hundred Grievances of the German Nation.' Among these were the following :

No. 5. How licence to sin with impunity is granted for money.

No. 67. How more money than penitence is exacted from sinners.

No. 91. How Bishops extort money from the concubinage of priests.

These are but a sample of the terrible list.

The Pope did not deny the charges. On the contrary he sent his Apostolic Legate, Francesco Chieragato, to Nuremberg with these instructions : 'You will likewise say that we frankly confess that God has suffered this persecution (the

Lutheran revolt) to befall His Church because of the sins of men, and chiefly of the priests and Bishops of the Church. . . . Nor is it wonderful that sickness should have descended from the head to the members, from the Chief Pontiffs to the inferior prelates. All we have gone astray, everyone to his own ways, nor has there been now, for a long time, so much as one who did good.' Amidst a sea of troubles Adrian raised his voice against simony, sensuality, murder, and rapine. He was only laughed at for his pains.

No more pathetic figure is to be found in the whole annals of the Papacy than this good man struggling in vain to reform the corruptions of the Church. Perhaps the change was too violent. No more artists or poets were seen at the Vatican. No more concerts and theatrical representations. Adrian only prayed and worked. When he went out, he was surrounded, not by flattering poets and philosophers, but by beggars and cripples who received his blessing and his alms. His face had been one of great beauty, but one year at Rome caused it to be deeply sunken and lined with care. Adrian died almost broken-hearted, September 14, 1522.

There is no doubt that Adrian had come under the influence of the good Cardinal Ximenes during his residence in Spain, and to this much of

his reforming zeal was due. Moreover, it is a curious fact that only ten days before Adrian died he received Ignatius Loyola on his first visit to Rome. The celebrated founder of the Jesuits kissed the Pope's feet and received from him the Papal benediction.

The time for repentance for the sin-laden *Curia* and guilty city lasted but one year, and they rejoiced and made merry when the day of their visitation was over. With brutal frankness men fastened a wreath on the door of the Pope's physician, who they believed had purposely let him die, with the inscription, 'The Senate and People of Rome to the Deliverer of his Country.' Never again did the Cardinals try the experiment of a non-Italian Pope.

They little knew the retribution which was fast approaching. The axe was even then laid at the root of the tree, but Adrian was mercifully taken away before the judgment came. Hated by the Roman courtiers, and mocked by their satires because he tried to reform their abuses, he had been deeply unhappy. The story of his short Pontificate is fitly summed up by the inscription on his temporary tomb: 'Here lies Adrian VI., who thought nothing in his life more unfortunate than that he became Pope.'

CHAPTER X

CLEMENT VII. (1523-1534)

ONCE more Cardinal Wolsey, with the support of Henry VIII., made a bid for the Papal Throne. The German Emperor promised his aid, but his agent at the Conclave was but half-hearted in the matter, and the Italian Cardinals were determined never again to submit to a foreign Pope. They went back to their old ways and intrigues. The fourteen Cardinals created by Leo X. resolved to vote for another member of the Medici family. After much wrangling and threats from the magistrates that their food-supply should be reduced, the Cardinal de' Medici, a cousin of Leo X., was elected, and took the name of CLEMENT VII.

The Roman people were delighted at the election. They hoped that the days of Leo would return, when money flowed freely and the people were entertained with continual feasts and pageants. The scholars and poets were equally pleased with the prospect, and even the

Emperor was satisfied, for his ambassador wrote, 'The Medici is your creature.'

The new Pope disappointed everyone. He had been trained in the principles of Machiavelli, and was deeply versed in the crooked ways of deceit. Moreover, there was in him a curious mixture of obstinacy with an utter lack of self-reliance and steadfastness of purpose. He loved to handle the edged tools of duplicity, but lacked the resolution to use them to advantage.

It must, however, be acknowledged that few, if any, of the Popes were placed in such a difficult position as Clement VII. Not only were the rival claims of the French King and the Emperor constantly pressing upon him, but the very difficult question of the divorce of Henry VIII. from Catherine of Aragon became a further source of perplexity and embarrassment. It cannot be doubted that at first Clement was favourable to the idea of a divorce, and gave grounds to Cardinal Wolsey, his legate in England, for assuring Henry that it would be granted. But later, partly on account of the difficulty of repudiating the dispensation of Julius II., and partly through dread of the German Emperor, who warmly espoused the cause of his aunt, Queen Catherine, the Pope drew back and procrastinated, until Henry lost all patience. Finally

the King procured from Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, a sentence of nullity of marriage with Catherine, and immediately afterwards married Anne Boleyn.

Clement restrained himself as much as possible. He wrote to Henry and offered conciliatory terms, if only he would retract the last steps which he had taken. At the same time the Pope resisted the demands of the Emperor Charles, who urged him to proceed to extreme measures against Henry. In his own words the Pope felt himself between the anvil and the hammer, and knew not which way to turn. But Henry had gone too far : he no longer sought the recognition of Rome for his divorce, and proceeded utterly to break with the Papacy.

The same hesitation, vacillation, and timidity was manifest in the dealings of Clement with France and Germany. When the Emperor was in the ascendant, Clement was his loyal servant ; but when Francis crossed the Alps with a powerful army, the frightened Pope made a treaty with France. When the French army was crushed at Pavia, Clement turned again to the Emperor ; yet hardly had Francis regained his freedom ere the Pope joined the League of Cognac, and absolved the King from the oaths by which he had obtained his release from prison. When at

the instigation of the Emperor the great Cardinal Colonna, the constant foe of the Medici, fell suddenly upon Rome and began to plunder the Vatican and St. Peter's, Clement took refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, and humbly sued for peace. But within a month after signing the convention the Pope broke the terms of peace, and a Papal army took the field against the Colonna.

It seemed as if the Pope was infatuated. The ancient proverb tells us that 'Those whom God purposes to destroy He first deprives of reason.' It was so with Clement and the Roman *Curia* at the time which we are describing. But the day of reckoning was fast approaching. Charles would be trifled with no longer.

Seven thousand Spaniards were landed in Tuscany under the Duke de Bourbon, and, worse still, some twelve thousand German and Swiss Lands-knechts were pouring over the Alps. Clement tried to make peace, but even then he did not realize the danger. The Spanish army was penniless, cold, and starving: and the imperial generals, not knowing how to provide for their troops, were willing to negotiate. After some delay the Pope agreed upon a truce, and offered a small sum of money to the troops.

When the news reached the Spanish army, they

were filled with fury. They turned upon their own generals and treated them as traitors. The cry of both Spaniards and Germans was, 'Gold ! Gold !' Nothing could restrain this wild horde of fighting-men. Rome was their goal, and to Rome they would go. At Rome was the man who had cheated their Emperor. At Rome were the wines and the women, the gold and jewels, the silks and satins, which were to repay them for all the hardships which they had undergone ; and Bourbon was obliged to send word to the Pope that his soldiers would not hear of a truce, but insisted on being led to Rome. Even then the Pope might have bought the soldiers off, if he would have given them their arrears of pay, but Clement could not bring himself to part with so large a sum, and contented himself with futile appeals to the other Italian States for help.

Meanwhile the hungry host rolled on, plundering and devouring every city which did not feed them. The country was as the garden of Eden before them, and as a howling wilderness behind them. On May 5, 1528, they pitched their camp before the walls of Rome. They were in want of almost everything, and the walls of Rome were strong and were defended by 14,000 men. Next day the assault began. The first rush failed, and General de Bourbon himself fell struck with

a bullet. 'Our Lady! I am dead!' he cried, and then expired. But his death only roused the fury of the Spaniards. Yet another wild assault, and both Germans and Spaniards succeeded in scaling the walls. Then the awful massacre began.

One company of Roman militia lost 900 out of 1,000 men. The Pope's Swiss Guards perished almost to a man. Clement was saying Mass at St. Peter's when the soldiers poured in and cut down his guard before the high altar, while the Pope himself was hurried away by an underground passage to the castle of St. Angelo. Neither age nor sex was respected. Every man, woman, and child was at the mercy of that frightful army. Nothing was sacred to them. The Catholic Spaniards rivalled the Lutheran Germans in their excesses. Drunk with wine, lust, and blood, they spared no one. The Spaniards even burst into the hospital of St. Spirito and massacred the patients. The Germans stabled their horses in the chapels of St. Peter's, played with dice upon the high altar, and got drunk out of the sacred vessels of the Mass.

A certain Bishop bought himself off three times, and was murdered in the end; another had his ring-finger cut off, and the finger stripped of the ring flung in his face. The Cardinal of Siena was dragged naked through the streets, and beaten

with German fists till he agreed to pay 5,000 ducats. The Cardinal of Araceli was taken from his bed and placed in a coffin, and made to disgorge his wealth under threat of being buried alive. Every sort of cruelty was used: prisoners were hung up by their arms and tortured with hot irons; others had their teeth drawn one by one; others had pointed sticks driven into their nails till they produced the required ransom. The groans of the dying in the streets were mingled with the shrieks of the violated women who were flung down from the windows above. The Goths and Huns had been more merciful than these so-called Christian soldiers, and the cry of Rome's agony went up to Heaven, as the hoarded riches of her luxurious palaces became the prey of the German and Spanish soldiers. Clement himself shut up in the castle was reduced to such extremity that he was constrained to eat asses' flesh. As he roamed about the long galleries of St. Angelo he was heard to utter the lamentation of Job: 'Wherefore hast Thou brought me forth out of the womb? Oh, that I had given up the ghost, and no eye had seen me.'

But we must forbear to give the full details of what happened. They are too horrible. For six long weeks Rome lay helpless at the mercy of the invaders, until in the month of June the fear of

famine and an outbreak of the plague induced the greater part of the Germans to leave. By the beginning of September half the Lands-knechts were dead of malarial fever, hunger, and debauchery.

In December the Pope, who had been besieged in St. Angelo for seven months, agreed to the onerous conditions imposed upon him, and consented to pay a ransom of 400,000 golden crowns. The Spanish soldiers were then admitted into the Castle, but the Pope found that he was treated with rigour and indignity of every kind. He therefore escaped, disguised as a merchant, to Orvieto, where he remained nearly a year. The medals of Clement amply illustrate this period. On one is represented Christ bound to a pillar, and on the ground the rod with which he had been scourged and the crown of thorns. The inscription is: 'After many tribulations still more remain.' Another represents the escape of St. Peter from prison, inscribed: 'The Lord brought me out of prison.' A very curious medal commemorates a remarkable well dug at Orvieto by the Pope's command. It shows Moses striking the rock so that the water gushed out. The words are: 'That the people may drink.'

The Emperor now professed to be shocked himself at the excesses of his troops, and invited the

Pope to return to Rome and make peace. Clement came back to the city on October 6th, 1528; but it was to find the houses ruined, burnt, and empty. The population, which had reached 82,000 under Leo X., was now but 32,000. Many who had formerly been prosperous were now beggars. The artists and poets had either died or were scattered throughout Italy in abject poverty. The Vatican was in ruins. St. Peter's was desecrated. There was not a house in Rome, not a church, not a monastery, not a convent, which had wholly escaped from the sack. The medal of Clement shows the state of the city under the emblem of a tree struck by lightning and stripped of all its foliage. From the effects of this tragedy Rome never recovered. She never again became the gay and brilliant capital of art and literature. Clement reached his palace in tears.

The Emperor, however, proved both moderate and generous. By the treaty of Bologna peace was made on reasonable terms, and in return Charles was crowned by the Pope as King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans with all the accustomed ceremonial. In order further to content the Emperor, Clement espoused the cause of Catherine of Aragon, the Emperor's aunt, against Henry VIII. By this proceeding the Pope alienated Henry, who had hitherto been his best

friend. When at last the Papal decision was given against the King's divorce, the entire separation of England from the Roman obedience was the immediate result.

Yet once more Clement began to intrigue with France. Dazzled by the offer of marriage made by the Dauphin to his young relative, Catherine de' Medici, Clement again accepted the French alliance, and himself performed the marriage ceremony at Marseilles. Catherine was only fourteen years of age, and her marriage was far from happy ; but as a widow she exercised a disastrous influence over her sons Francis II. and Charles IX., and was herself directly responsible for the awful massacre of St. Bartholomew.

In 1534 Clement died. He was not the worst of Popes, far from it ; but he was 'the most ill-starred Pope who ever sat on the Papal Throne.' He inherited the sins of his predecessors, and by his own weak and vacillating policy brought to a head the catastrophe which was inevitable. His grave is near that of his cousin Leo X. in the Church of Maria Sopra Minerva.

THIRD PERIOD

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

CHAPTER XI

PAUL III. AND JULIUS III. (1534-1555)

THE next period in the story of the Popes has been styled the Counter-Reformation. It was a Reformation of morals and measures, but not of doctrine. This movement of Reform had its origin in Spain, and was due to the earnest zeal of Cardinal Ximenes, under the fostering care of Ferdinand and Isabella. Under this influence a new school of theology arose combining purity of life and missionary zeal with the learning and doctrine of the school of Thomas Aquinas.

The spirit of reform spread from Spain to Italy. Adrian VI. had, while Regent in Spain, come under the influence of the movement. Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV., had also spent some years in Spain. Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier were both Spaniards; and from Spain came the Inquisition, or Holy Office. By these men and with these weapons new life was poured into the Roman Church, and the Papacy, which seemed past all hope of recovery, was restored to power and vigour

independently of the Popes themselves, and almost against the will of some of them.

The first Pope of this period was Alexander Farnese, who took the name of PAUL III. He was of an easy, magnificent, and liberal nature, and was such a favourite of Clement VII. that the dying Pontiff exclaimed : ‘ If the Pontificate were given by bequest, we should in our last will and testament name Cardinal Farnese as our successor.’ On the first day of the Conclave he was elected by acclamation, which was confirmed the following day by scrutiny. The election was so sudden and so unusual in its manner that it was commemorated by a medal representing the Conversion of St. Paul, with the words : ‘ A chosen vessel.’

There was great joy throughout Rome at this election. It was the first time since Martin V. that a true Roman had occupied the Papal chair. Paul himself believed that he was called to do great things. One of his earliest medals represents Christ driving the money-changers from the Temple, with the words : ‘ My House shall be called a House of Prayer.’

But Paul III. had an evil past. His own elevation to the Cardinalate was due to the wicked Pope, Alexander VI., and was the reward of the guilt of his sister Giulia Farnese. He himself was encumbered with an illegitimate son and daughter, and as

the pupil of Pomponius Lætus he had imbibed the same classical and semi-pagan tastes as Leo X. One of his medals represents Gannymede accompanied by his eagle watering the lilies, with the words in Greek : ' The gift of Jove refreshes.' He was gay and witty in speech, and expressed himself in choice and elegant Latin and Italian, but his boundless nepotism recalled the worst days of the Borgia Pope, in whose Court he had passed his youth.

Paul III. showed great skill and prudence in his dealings with the two rival monarchs Charles V. and Francis I. After the war between them had raged some time, the Pope induced them to accept his mediation. For this purpose he proceeded to Nice, and there had an interview with each monarch separately. He could not induce them to meet each other, but they agreed upon a truce for ten years. A very curious medal celebrates this truce. The lily of France is seen under a rainbow, with the words : ' Fædere tuo Deus ' (By Thy alliance, O God).

Meanwhile the quarrel between Henry VIII. and the Papacy became more acute. Cardinal Wolsey had fallen into disgrace, and had died in 1530. The policy of his successors, Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer, tended rather to widen than to heal the breach with Rome. Many English

monasteries were suppressed, while Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, for denying the royal supremacy, had lain in a prison for about a year, when Paul, wishing to reward so faithful an adherent, and at the same time to administer a rebuff to the King, created him a Cardinal. This promotion naturally roused the ire of Henry. Fisher was accused of high treason, condemned to death, and beheaded on June 22nd, 1535. The Pope immediately drew up a Bull of Deposition—‘Cum Redemptor.’ For three years it was suspended through the intervention of the French King, but was finally issued in 1558. Henry was formally excommunicated; the Pope delivered the King’s soul to the devil; his dominions were given to the first invader of England. The King whom Pope Leo X. had so blessed was now cursed by Pope Paul III. A singular medal of Paul III. represents a serpent struggling with a griffin. There is no inscription, but it is believed to refer to the serpent-like prudence of Paul in dealing with the monster, Henry VIII.

In 1537 the celebrated Ignatius Loyola appeared at Rome. He had gathered together a few devoted followers, and casting themselves at the feet of the Pope they implored his permission to go forth to preach and to teach. Paul received them with great courtesy, and provided them with ample

means to fulfil their mission. They conducted many missions in Italy with much success, and at the request of the King of Portugal set apart one of their number, Francis Xavier, to go forth with another priest to the Portuguese dominions in India.

Paul III. now decided that the time was come to give his formal sanction to the new Order. Accordingly, on September 27, 1540, he issued a Bull constituting the Company of Jesus, and shortly afterwards installed Loyola as the first General of the Order. In addition to the usual vows the Jesuits by their original constitution made one of unconditional obedience to the Popes, but too often in practice the Pope has been constrained rather to obey the behests of the Company.

This was not the only effort at Reform. The older Orders, especially the Franciscans, began to restore their ancient discipline, while two other new Orders were founded, that of the Barnabites, who gave themselves up to the conversion of sinners by means of parochial missions, and the Theatines, whose special work was to train a new class of secular priests who should be pure in life and earnest in preaching. Moreover, Caraffa and Burgos, two old Dominican monks, and austere and stern zealots, persuaded the Pope to establish the Inquisition at Rome. This was done by the

Bull of July 21, 1542. Immediately Caraffa furnished a house with strong locks and bolts and added dungeons and chains to receive those accused of heresy. The following year the Censure of the Press was introduced. Thus a very real Reformation was begun, but it was carried on in a manner entirely different from the Protestant Reformations of England and Germany, and in a spirit opposed to Evangelical doctrine.

Paul III. was not himself a Reformer. He was a brilliant Italian Prince. The Farnese Palace, which he built as Cardinal, is among the most splendid of Roman palaces. The celebrated 'Farnesina' painting and 'The Last Judgment' of Michael Angelo testify to his love of art. Yet he saw the necessity for Reform, and allowed a free course to those who were pressing it forward. His domestic relations were most unhappy. The undutiful conduct of his grandson Ottavio and his nephew Alessandro brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. Yet he was beloved by the Roman people, who crowded to kiss his feet at his death in 1549.

As soon as the death of Paul III. was known the Cardinals assembled for a new Conclave. They were divided into three factions—the Imperialists, the French, and the Farnesians. The first candidate proposed was Cardinal Pole of the

English Blood Royal. In a scrutiny he needed only two votes to secure his election, and it was believed that he would have been elected that same evening by acclamation, had he not himself entreated the Conclave to postpone the election to the following morning. Meanwhile Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV., insinuated that Cardinal Pole was tainted with Lutheranism, as he had not shown sufficient zeal in repressing heresy at Viterbo. Other candidates were then proposed, and after a weary struggle of two months a compromise was effected, and the Cardinal John Maria del Monte, formerly Chamberlain of Julius II. was elected, and taking the name of his patron, assumed the title of JULIUS III.

Julius belonged to the Imperialist party, and his election was very gratifying to the Emperor Charles V. The Pope wrote to the Nuncio at the Imperial Court: 'Our will is to embark in the same boat with His Majesty, and to commit Ourselves to the same fortune. We leave it to him who has the wisdom and power to determine Our course.'

The year 1550 was the year of Jubilee. Immense numbers of poor pilgrims flocked to Rome, and were entertained by the new Institution for pilgrims. It was a year of great scarcity in Italy,

but Julius relieved the want by large importations of bread-stuffs. During the Jubilee, Indulgences are usually suspended throughout the world ; but the Pope, wishing to show special favour to the Society of Jesus, allowed the Jesuits to continue to grant Indulgences in his name.

Charles V. was now set on the work of Reform, and hoped to bring together both Protestants and Catholics in a General Council at Trent. The Pope with some reluctance agreed to this scheme, but unhappily he ruined his own reputation by a shockingly indecent action. At his first Consistory Julius created twenty Cardinals. Among them was a youth of sixteen, whom he called Innocentius, but who was generally known as the Ape, and afterwards as the Cardinal *della Scimia* on account of the care he had taken of the monkeys in the house of Cardinal del Monte. When the Pope was asked why he had so strangely favoured the lad, and for what reason he had conferred on him the red hat, he replied : ‘What reason had you to choose me as Pope ? Fortune favours whom she pleases.’ Rome was at once filled with pasquinades of the most libellous description, and the Protestant Princes of Germany protested against the disgrace brought on the Christian name by such an unworthy act.

The Council met at Trent in March, 1545 ; but

it was already discredited. Henry II. would not allow the French Bishops to attend, and the Pope declared that he would rather suffer any sort of misfortune than agree to the Emperor's desire of extending the royal authority over the Church in Spain, while the demands of the Reformers that the Holy Scripture should be the only standard of truth, and that the Pope should have no right of veto in the Council were equally displeasing to Julius. Accordingly the Council dragged on without effecting any reform till 1552, when it was suspended.

Three medals of Julius III. have special reference to England. The first, in the reign of Edward VI., threatens England with the Divine vengeance for separating from Rome. It bears the legend : 'The nation and kingdom that will not serve Thee shall perish' (Isa. lx. 12). The second, dated A.V., the year of victory, expresses the Pope's satisfaction at the return of England to the Roman obedience in the time of Queen Mary. On the reverse of this rare medal the Pope, attended by Philip II. and Cardinal Pole, raises the Queen of England from the ground, with the words : 'England, thou shalt rise again.' In the background are represented the Emperor Charles V. and Catherine of Aragon, the Queen's mother. Yet another medal represents the erring sheep of

England feeding once more on the seven hills of Rome, with the words: 'We also are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.'

The character of Julius was altogether unworthy of a Christian minister. In his latter years he abandoned himself to dissipation. He loved the easy life of his villa outside the gates of Rome, and gave entertainments, where the conversation was often of such a nature as to call up blushes on the cheeks of some of his guests. He died from the consequences of his own folly, and no tomb was erected to his memory.

CHAPTER XII

MARCELLUS II. AND PAUL IV. (1555-1559)

AFTER the death of Julius III. the stricter Reform party of the Cardinals for the first time obtained the victory. Julius had often felt the restraint caused by the holy ways of the Cardinal Marcello Cervini, and upon him the choice of the Cardinals fell. Like Adrian, he kept his own name, and became MARCELLUS II.

He was not only good, but he was also wise, and his election inspired all good men with hope. He immediately set to work with intense earnestness to restore Divine service to due solemnity, and all his thoughts were turned to a Council and a thorough reform. But alas! the confinement in the Conclave, the long and tedious ceremonies of his consecration, and, above all, his intense anxiety to cleanse and restore the Church, so exhausted his frame that he fell ill on the twelfth day after his election. He yet hoped to recover, and had a medal struck with the pathetic words: 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.' It was

not to be. On the twenty-second day of his Pontificate this good Pope died. It was said by his contemporaries that the world was not worthy of him. His name is immortalized by one of the most beautiful compositions of Palestrina, the 'Missa Papæ Marcelli,' which was dedicated to him by Paul IV.

But the spirit of reform still animated the Cardinals. In spite of the exertions of the French and Imperialist factions, they chose the most austere of all their number—a man who had never solicited a vote or conciliated a single Cardinal by a promise of future reward. Caraffa, the founder of the Theatines, the introducer of the Inquisition at Rome, was made Pope under the name of PAUL IV.

He was seventy-nine years of age, but his deep-set eyes had all the fire of youth, and his countenance bespoke the narrow-minded persecutor of those who differed from him. His singleness of purpose was undoubted. 'We promise and swear,' he said in his first Bull, 'truly to endeavour that the reform of the Universal Church and of the Roman Court be effected.' More than one of his medals represents Christ driving the money-changers from the Temple. As the founder of the Theatines, Caraffa had renounced both the Bishopric of Chieti and the Archbishopric of

PLATE IV.



PAUL IV.

MARCELLUS II.



PIUS V. (GHISLERI).

The Church Militant triumphs over Hell (by casting out devils). In the exergue: The Empire of Pontifical Authority.

Brindisi which he possessed, and had lived a life of poverty and seclusion with his associates, refusing even to solicit alms, and subsisting only on the voluntary offerings of the faithful. In the pulpit, in the oratory, and in frequent missions in the streets, with cap and cross and clerical gown, Caraffa had poured forth burning words of eloquence exhorting men to repentance, and insisting upon righteousness, temperance, and self-denial.

But Caraffa was also a Neapolitan and an Italian; he saw with grief and indignation the overwhelming power of Spain and the domination which the Emperor had acquired in Italy, and he believed that God had raised him up to deliver his country from the Spaniards, 'the spawn of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the earth,' as he called them. He knew the power of Charles, but he comforted himself by the text, 'Thou shalt walk upon serpents; thou shalt tread upon lions and dragons.'

In all his schemes against the empire Paul was urged on and helped by his nephew, Carlo Caraffa. This utterly unworthy man had received some fancied slight from the Emperor, and was filled with hate and rage against him. He had revelled in the wild and licentious life of a soldier of fortune, but had imposed upon his aged uncle by

contriving that the Pope should find him kneeling before a crucifix in apparent remorse and contrition.

Paul now created his nephew a Cardinal, and taking away the castles of the Colonnas, 'those inveterate rebels against God and His Church,' he gave them to two other nephews whom he made Duke of Palliano and Marquis of Montebello. The Cardinals and Reformers looked on in amazement, but nothing could restrain this fiery impulsive old man. Though Catholic to the backbone, he allied himself with France, and even entered into relations with German Protestants, and sent messages of amity to the Sultan himself. 'The French,' he said, 'may be dislodged hereafter, but the Spaniards are like dog-grass, sure to strike root wherever it is cast.'

It was a huge mistake. The Papal blessing publicly given by the Pope himself to the Roman troops as they marched to meet the Duke of Alva availed nothing. The French were completely routed in the great Battle of St. Quintin, and the Papal troops under the Pope's nephews were unable to hold their own against the Duke of Alva. The Pope's party were utterly defeated. Nothing but the piety of Philip II. and the Duke of Alva prevented another sack of Rome. But both shrank from the fate of Bourbon and his

army. The Duke of Alva met the Pope, and for the first time in his life quailed before those terrible eyes. He said that he had never feared the face of man as he had feared the face of the Pope. Terms were made of the most favourable nature for the Papacy, and Paul retired from active politics.

Very soon the eyes of the Pope were opened to the evil lives of his nephews. His horror and indignation were extreme. He could neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep, and for ten days lay ill with fever. Then he held a Consistory, in which he described with passionate vehemence the wickedness of his nephews, and called God to witness that he had not been privy to it. He dismissed them from all their posts, and banished them to distant places. For the first time for many years the Pope began to reign without his nephews.

The whole character of the Papal administration was changed. The money-changers had at last been driven out, and a real cleansing of the Temple was begun. He compelled the Cardinals to preach. He introduced Lenten fasts into the Vatican, and insisted that all should make their Easter communion with due solemnity. The sale of offices and of marriage dispensations was abolished, and everywhere strict discipline was enforced.

THE END OF THE

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Unhappily he went even further. The Inquisition was his own child, and Paul now regularly attended its meetings, and urged the Inquisition to unwonted severity. He gave them the right of torture and of placing all books of which they disapproved on the Index. Even nobles of the highest rank were dragged before this tribunal, and two of the principal Cardinals, Morone and Foscherari, were thrown into prison on the suspicion of heresy. The Pope lived in the Inquisition, he imprisoned, excommunicated, and held *autos-da-fé*. The Jews were the especial objects of his hate, and suffered much from his severity. They were no longer allowed to reside in any part of the Papal States except at Rome and Ancona. Even there they were forced to live in a separate quarter called the *Ghetto*, which did not finally disappear until 1887. They were not allowed to keep a Christian servant, nor work on Sundays, nor play with Christians. Jewish doctors might not attend on Christian patients, and all Jews were compelled to wear a distinctive dress, the men a yellow hat, the women a yellow veil. No Hebrew might address a Christian without the use of the title Signore, and in every way the Jews were treated as an inferior race.

It was to this Pope at the beginning of his reign that Queen Mary and King Philip sent

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English ambassadors to beg for the complete reconciliation of England with the Papacy. The haughty Pope kept the ambassadors prostrate before his feet, while one after another confessed the faults and errors of England in straying away from the true fold of Christ and from the chief Shepherd of the Church. They were made to beg humbly for absolution, and to promise complete repentance and submission, before the Pope deigned to raise them up and restore them to his communion. As a reward of their piety, Paul was good enough to confirm the right of England to the possession of Ireland, but he blamed the English people for not having made complete restitution of Church property and for slackness in giving Peter's pence. A medal was struck by the Pope's command representing Christ healing the sick, with the legend: 'Lest a worse thing come unto thee.' It was intended to warn the English that if ever again they left the Roman obedience, worse troubles would come upon them.

On the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne on November 17, 1558, she directed the English agent at Rome to inform the Pope of the event. Paul replied that England was a fief of the Apostolic See, and that she could not succeed, being, as he said, illegitimate, without a Papal dispensation. 'It was a great arrogance on her part

to assume the crown without his consent, for which reason she deserved no favour at his hands ; yet if she would renounce her pretensions and refer herself wholly to him, he would show to her fatherly affection, and would do everything for her that would consist with the dignity of the Apostolic See.'

At last the end came. The aged Pope summoned the Cardinals to his bedside, and bade them elect a godly and zealous successor. At the same time he commended to them the continuance of the Inquisition, which he called most holy, and which he declared to be the chief basis and pillar of Papal dignity.

When death came, the infuriated Roman people rose in tumult. They cursed the name and deeds of Paul IV. and the whole family of the Caraffas. They ran to the House of Inquisition, released the prisoners, set fire to the building, and burnt its archives. The Pope was buried with little pomp, and his remains deposited in a mean brick grave. The Caraffa arms were everywhere defaced and broken. The marble statue of the Pope, which had been recently erected in the Capitol, was torn down from its pedestal. Amidst the laughter of the crowd a Jew boy placed his yellow cap upon the head which was then made a target for stones. After being drawn about the filth of the streets for

three days the statue was finally thrown into the Tiber. Such was the hatred of the people to his name, that the sellers of flagons known as *caraffe* were obliged to change the name of their wares to *ampolle*. It was said of Paul IV., as of a more illustrious Emperor of old, 'Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset' (He would have been thought by all fit to have ruled, if he had not reigned). The inscription on his sarcophagus runs thus:

'Jesus Christ, the hope and the life of the beautiful.

'To Paul IV., Caraffa, the Pontifex Maximus, peerless in eloquence, learning, and wisdom, glorious in innocence, generosity, and magnanimity; the inexorable judge of crime, the most zealous champion of the Catholic faith, this monument of gratitude and piety was raised by Pius V. He lived eighty-three years, one month, and twenty days, and died on the fourteenth of August, 1559, in the fifth year of his pontificate.'

CHAPTER XIII

PIUS IV. (1559-1566)

IT is said that once at a dinner of Cardinals, Alessandro Farnese gave a wreath to a boy who was improvising to the accompaniment of his lyre, and bade him crown with it the Cardinal who was to be the future Pope. The boy, who himself became afterwards a Cardinal, at once gave the wreath to Giovan-Angelo Medici. This Medici, the third of his family to obtain the tiara, became successor to Paul IV. under the name of Pius IV. He was elected Pope on Christmas Day, 1559, and in allusion to this, one of his first medals represents the birth of Christ, with the words, 'To-day the angels sang on earth.'

Pius IV. was very different in character to his predecessor. He was gentle and affable in manners, with a gay countenance and cheerful eye. But he could be severe at times. No sooner had Pius ascended the throne than the enemies of the Caraffa family demanded that justice should be executed on the nephews of the late Pope. The

Duke of Palliano especially had been guilty of the grossest excesses. The Duke and his brother, the Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, were accused of the most revolting crimes, including the constant deception of the aged Paul. The documents were read in the Consistory from morning till evening, and then the Pope passed sentence of death upon both, and also upon two of their nearest relations, Counts Aliffe and Leonardi di Cardine. The Cardinal, who was not allowed to finish his prayers, was strangled with a silken cord in the castle of St. Angelo. The three others were beheaded in prison. Their bodies were exposed on the bridge of San Angelo, and buried in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

It was the end of the race of Cardinal-Nephews. Riario, Borgia, Medici, Farnese, Caraffa, they had all scandalized the world by their reckless impiety and prodigal extravagance. They had all aimed at founding dukedoms and principalities through their influence with their uncles, the Popes. But all had failed. Never again did anyone take the disgraced title of Cardinal Nepos. The Caraffas were the last of their kind.

Pius IV. had indeed a nephew, but a man of a wholly different character. The celebrated Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, who was afterwards canonized by Paul V. in 1610, was

a source of strength rather than weakness to his uncle. His whole conduct was noble and blameless. He sought for no worldly wealth and glory, but with the utmost assiduity ruled his diocese and helped his uncle. For this latter task he associated with himself eight learned doctors, and thus laid the foundation of the important institution of the *Consulta*. Through his influence the Pope continued the work of reform. The Bishops were made to reside in their dioceses; banquets and hunting-parties ceased, and a simpler life was adopted both at the Vatican and in the palaces of the Cardinals.

The Pope was, above all, a man of peace. He was in heart no friend of the Inquisition, and seldom attended the meetings of the Congregation. He even ordered the release of many innocent persons who had been arrested by the Inquisition in the days of Paul IV., and had a medal struck to commemorate the event, with the words: 'Indulgentia Pont.' Yet he did not venture to interfere too far, and was at times induced himself to adopt a persecuting tone. Thus, when the Government of Lucca offered a free pardon and a reward of 300 crowns to any person who murdered any of the Protestant refugees from that city, the Pope described it as 'a pious and praiseworthy decree, piously and wisely executed; and that nothing

could redound more to God's honour, provided it were thoroughly carried into execution.'

Pius IV. did much for restoring the fortifications of Rome which had been so greatly damaged by the Constable de Bourbon. He also improved the harbour of Civita Vecchia, built the Porta Pia, and carried out other works of ecclesiastical and civil usefulness. To him was due the founding of the Seminario Romano, and to his literary zeal the Vatican library owes many MSS. and documents connected with the Papacy.

But the claims of Pius IV. to distinction rest chiefly on the part he took in convening the Council of Trent, and on the able diplomacy by which he won over the three great Catholic Powers—France, Spain, and Austria—to his views. Both Philip of Spain and the Emperor Ferdinand fully intended to contend for certain limitations of the Papal power, while the Duke of Guise, who was all-powerful in France, for a long time forbade the French Bishops to attend the Council. But in the end, chiefly through the able conduct of the Cardinals Morone and Borromeo, the Pope came out completely victorious. When the Council closed its meetings in December, 1563, the Papal claims were allowed to the fullest extent. Protestant doctrines were finally condemned and anathematized; the Greek and Eastern Churches were

ignored ; and the whole Latin Church was made subservient to the Pope. The result was for ever crystallized in the famous Creed of Pope Pius IV., to which all Bishops of the Roman Church have since been compelled to swear allegiance. It is beyond the purpose of this book to describe the various articles of belief set forth by the Council. It will suffice to quote Article XIII. of the Creed, which runs as follows:—‘ I acknowledge the Holy Catholic Apostolical and Roman Church to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Bishop, the successor of St. Peter the Prince of the Apostles and Vicar of Jesus Christ. So help me God and these Holy Gospels.’

When the Council was dissolved, Pius felt that his life's work was done. A remarkable medal was struck in commemoration at Milan. It shows St. Ambrose on horseback putting to rout the Manichæans and other heretics of his day, with the words ‘Sectator Ejus’ (I am a follower of him), which refer to the condemnation of the Lutherans and Calvinists by the influence of Pius IV. in the Council. The Pope's last years were marked by ever-increasing moderation. The monitory which had been issued summoning the Queen of Navarre before the Inquisition on a charge of Calvinism was withdrawn in 1564 in deference to the protest

of Charles IX. In the same year the use of the cup in the Mass was conceded to the laity of Austria and Bohemia.

Although Pius IV. had done so much for the advancement of the Papacy, the more ardent spirits thought that the Pope's somewhat worldly character and his gentle moderation fell short of the Divine ideal. Accordingly a certain fanatic named Benedetto Accolti believed that he was commissioned by God to rid Christendom of so unprofitable a head. With another associate he formed a plan to assassinate the Pope as he was walking in procession; but when the fatal moment arrived the conspirators were overawed by his quiet and dignified demeanour, and instead of rushing forward Accolti began to tremble and change colour. Both the criminals were arrested and executed.

Soon after this escape Pius was attacked by a catarrhal fever, and died on December 10, 1565. He was attended on his death-bed by St. Philip Neri and by St. Charles Borromeo, who administered to him the last Sacraments. A simple tablet in the Church of Santa Maria dei Angeli marks his last resting-place.

CHAPTER XIV

PIUS V. (1566-1572)

ON the death of Pius IV. the zealous reforming party, led by the Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, were enabled to elect one of themselves as Pope. Borromeo tells us himself in what spirit he attended the conclave. 'I resolved,' he writes, 'to give heed to nothing so much as to religion and faith ; and as I was acquainted with the piety, purity of life, and devout spirit of the Cardinal of Alessandria, I thought that the Republic of Christ would be most fitly administered by him, and used my utmost exertions in his favour.'

Michele Ghisleri, Cardinal of Alessandria, became Pope under the title of Pius V. He was elected on the day of the Epiphany, 1566, as is recorded in his medal of the worship of the Magi, with the legend : 'Illuminare Hierusalem' (To give light to Jerusalem). The new Pope was exactly the man the Reformers needed. 'Come to Rome,' writes one of them to his friend ; 'come with confidence and without delay, but with all modesty ;

God has raised up to us another Paul IV.' He was better than Paul IV. A medal of his first year gives a bust of the Saviour, with the words: 'Blessed are they who keep My ways.' According to his light Pius did with all his heart and soul strive to walk in the ways of God.

Ghisleri was born of humble parents in the year 1504, and entered a Dominican Convent at the age of fourteen. There he soon became remarkable for his entire devotion to the rules of the Order. He did not even reserve to himself so much money as to buy a cloak for the winter, and though at an early age he became Confessor to the Governor of Milan, he always walked barefoot. He was soon called to the office of Inquisitor, and performed his duties with much boldness in the dangerous Swiss-Italian districts where Protestantism was making much way. On one occasion the Count della Trinita threatened to have him thrown down a well. 'As to that it must be as God pleases,' replied the intrepid Dominican. When this same Count was afterwards sent as Ambassador to his Court at Rome, 'See,' said the Pope on recognising his former enemy, 'how God preserves the innocent!' It was the only way in which he ever made the Count feel that he remembered his threat.

When created Cardinal by Paul IV. in 1557,

and when elected Pope in 1566, Pius in no way changed his manner of life. He still wore the rough hair shirt of his monkish days beneath his Pontifical robes, and rose at an extremely early hour that he might have ample time for prayer, lamenting that the duties of the Papacy left too little leisure for spiritual exercises. One of his most remarkable utterances was that 'he had hoped to save his soul as a monk, he had feared that he could scarcely save it as a Bishop and a Cardinal, and had despaired of saving it as a Pope.' Yet he found happiness in prayer, and was often seen with tears in his eyes when on his knees. 'But for the support of prayer,' he said, 'the weight of the burden would be more than I could endure.'

With the exception of one nephew, Cardinal Bonelli, whom he was induced to raise to the Cardinalate on the earnest representation of others, he gave to none of his relations more than a moderate competency ; and if one among them was detected in any offence, even in a lie—a thing then thought of no account—he never forgave him, but banished him without mercy from his presence. In processions he walked barefoot, with head uncovered, but radiant with devotion, so that the people thought there never could have been such another Pope. As regards himself, he was humble, kind, and forgiving ; as regards his office he was severe, harsh,

and haughty. To a young man who had caricatured him, and was brought before him for punishment, he said: 'Go, and consider yourself fortunate. Had you turned the Pope into ridicule, and not Michele Ghisleri, you would have fared otherwise.'

It is one of the sad features of the Roman Catholic religion that its most sincere and earnest followers are the most bigoted and intolerant. It is a paradox grievously true that the best Popes and most pious Catholic Sovereigns have been the worst persecutors. It was so in the case of Pius V. His severity was extreme. He was not satisfied that the Inquisitors should inquire into recent offences: he made them search out cases of ten or twenty years' standing. 'We forbid,' he said in his Bull '*Super Gregem Dominicam*,' 'that any physician attending a patient confined to his bed should visit him longer than three days without receiving a certificate that the sick man has confessed his sins anew.' Even Duke Cosmo of Florence was induced to deliver up a relation of his own, named Carnesechi, who was one of the *literati* who had taken part in the first Italian movement towards Protestantism. Though of such high rank, and of the utmost respectability, he was sent in fetters to the Inquisition at Rome, and condemned to perish in the flames. Another

eminent martyr was Antonio Paleario, the reputed author of a wonderful book called 'The Benefit of Christ's Death.' He perished at Rome about the year 1570. In Spain, under Philip II., the Inquisition had free course, and one *auto-da-fé* followed another till every germ of heresy was crushed out. Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, the highest ecclesiastic in Spain, a member of the Council of Trent, did not escape. He protested in vain, 'I have had no other object than the suppression of heresy. I have myself converted many who had erred from the faith; I have caused the bodies of some of the leaders of heresy to be dug up and burned; both Catholics and Protestants have called me the defender of the faith.' All was of no avail, for certain passages were found in his works which seemed to favour the doctrine of Justification by Faith. After a long imprisonment in Spain he was taken to Rome and sentenced to death. Even the Venetians resigned into the hands of the Pope the unhappy Guido Zannetti, of Fano, who was suspected of heresy, a thing never before recorded in the annals of the Republic. Persecution was carried to such a length, that at last even Philip begged the Pope to relax his zeal somewhat; and one of the Inquisitors declared that 'the Pope needs the bridle rather than the spur.'

In the same spirit Pius V. proclaimed anew the obnoxious Bull 'In Cœna Domini,' and even added fresh clauses of his own. By this Bull, which was ordered to be read publicly on Maundy Thursday, 'all Hussites, Wycliffites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and other Apostates from the faith, and all other heretics, by whatsoever name they are called, or of whatsoever sect they be,' were excommunicated in the most awful terms. 'Excommunicated and accursed may they be, and given body and soul to the devil—we give them utterly over to the power of the fiend.' But Pius was not content with mere words. He sent Papal troops to assist the King of France against the Huguenots, instructing their commander to take no prisoners, but to 'kill at once every heretic who fell into his hands.' When the Huguenots were defeated at the Battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, in 1569, a medal was struck in honour of the event, showing the Pope in prayer to Almighty God while the battle is raging in the distance. Again, after the awful atrocities of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, when within five years above 18,000 human heads were struck off by the hands of the executioners, the Pope sent to Alva a consecrated hat and sword, with a letter, saying, 'We thank thee in the name

of the whole Church . . . go on, beloved son, and by these steps, as it were, secure for thyself a way to eternal glory.'

Yet more interesting to us are the Pope's dealings with England. On February 28, 1570, he suddenly drew up the Bull 'Regnans in Excelsis,' by which he declared 'Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England,' to be 'the slave of all vices—a minister of iniquity,' and cut her off from the communion of the faithful. He released her subjects from their allegiance, and he forbade them, under pain of incurring the same sentence as herself, to recognise her any longer as their Sovereign. The Pope also endeavoured to form a league against England, and declared that he would expend the whole treasure of the Church, not excepting the golden chalices and jewelled crosses, in fitting out an expedition against that country. It is remarkable that the last public act of the Pope, before death cut short these aggressive schemes, was to receive some English Catholic fugitives and to give them his blessing.

One more great event must be mentioned. With infinite pains the Pope united the naval forces of Spain and Venice, together with some Papal galleys, to take the sea against the Turkish fleet. Don John of Austria was made General, and Anthony Colonna, Admiral. The expedition

was sent forth with the Papal blessing, and the Pope ceased not to support it by public prayers and fasts. The result was the utter destruction of the Turkish fleet at the celebrated Battle of Lepanto, on October 15, 1571. It is recorded that on that day, at the very hour of the engagement, the Pope stood at an open window with his eyes fixed on heaven, and turned to the astonished Cardinals, saying : 'No more business. Let us give thanks to God for the great victory He has accorded to the arms of the Christians.' The Battle of Lepanto is depicted on many medals of Pius V., and on one of these is the legend, 'God chose me to destroy the enemies of the faith.'

Pius V. died on May 1, 1572. In him was 'a strange union of singleness of purpose, magnanimity, austerity, and profound religious feeling with sour bigotry, relentless hatred, and bloody zeal for persecution. He was beatified by Clement X. in 1672, and canonized by Clement XI. in 1712. Of all the Popes of the last six centuries, St. Pius V. has alone attained this honour. May 5 is the day appointed for his festival. The notice of his life as read in the Mass extols Pius for having 'long discharged the office of Inquisitor with inflexible fortitude,' and for having 'displayed invincible courage in

asserting the rights of the Apostolic See.' The collect is as follows: 'O God, who for crushing the enemies of Thy Church, and for the reparation of Divine worship, didst deign to choose blessed Pius as Pope, grant that we may be defended by his protection, and may so follow Thy commands that we may vanquish the treachery of all our enemies, and rejoice with Thee in everlasting peace, through our Lord,' etc. Of such sort is the man to whom Rome grants her greatest honours. The greatest persecutor is her greatest Saint.

Many were the miracles reported to have been wrought by Pius V. after his death. More than once visions were seen of the Pope in glory among the Saints, and several persons professed themselves cured by prayer to him and by wearing some portion of his clothes. The greatest eagerness was shown to possess as relics his slippers or caps. The woollen shirt in which he died was purchased at a high price by the King of Portugal. A splendid monument was erected to his memory by Sixtus V. in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore.

CHAPTER XV

GREGORY XIII. (1572-1585)

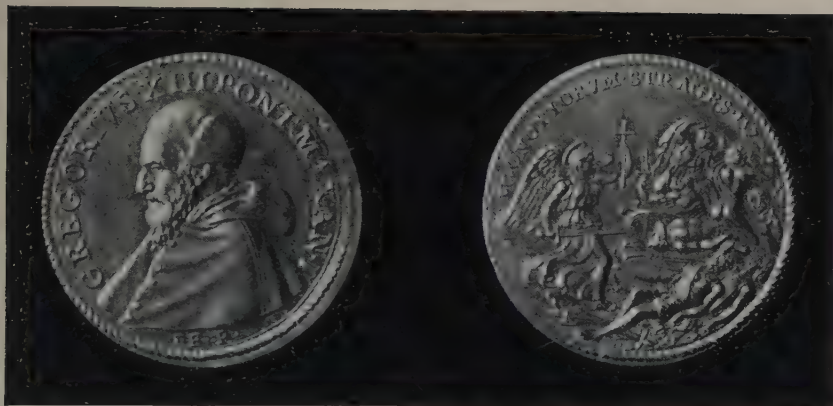
THE next Pope was a jurist of Bologna, born in 1512. He had been sent by Pope Pius IV. to the Council of Trent, and had assisted the Jesuits in all their enterprises. He had indeed led a somewhat wild youth, and was greatly hampered by an illegitimate son, named Giacomo, to whom he was devotedly attached. His own name was Ugo Buoncompagni, and in admiration of Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) he took the title of GREGORY XIII.

The new Pope, whose character much resembled that of his old patron, Pius IV., at once restored the Ministers of Pius to their places, while he appointed his son, Giacomo, as Gonfaloniere or Standard-Bearer to the Church, and induced the Venetian Republic to create him one of their *nobili*. When the Venetian Ambassador asked how Giacomo was to be described in the patent of nobility, he was told to designate him as 'Signor Giacomo Buoncompagni, closely related to His

Holiness.' In earlier days this Pope would have been as open to nepotism as some of his predecessors ; but the Jesuits and Theatines were always at his side, and strove to maintain in him a religious spirit. They set before him the example of Pius V. and it must be acknowledged that he followed their admonitions with much fidelity.

Gregory was indeed devoted to the Jesuit Order. To him they owed the magnificent buildings of the Collegio Romano with its 60 lecture rooms and 360 cells for students. He also founded the English College, the German College, and the Greek College, in each of which champions of Catholicism were trained in such a way as not to lose their own nationality. Many of these buildings are represented in his medals. In two other medals we see Abraham gathering his servants to rescue his captive brethren, and this is explained to signify the Pope sending forth the missionary students to the heathen. Another medal expressly says : 'Go, work in my vineyard.' 'He that soweth plenteously shall reap also plenteously.' Yet another records the first embassy to Rome from 'the Japanese Kings,' and their proffered obedience. In all these the missionary zeal of Gregory was manifest. New Orders were founded, old Orders were reformed, and the Association of

PLATE V.



GREGORY XIII.

The Massacre of the Huguenots.
Medal struck by order of the
Pope to commemorate the
massacre of St. Bartholomew.



ALEXANDER VII.

The Chair of St. Peter, from which it
is said the Apostle preached, en-
closed in bronze by Alexander VII.

Oratorian Priests of St. Philip Neri was established.

Unhappily the zeal of Gregory for what he believed to be the one and only true religion made him a supporter of the Inquisition and a favourer of persecution. When the awful massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated at Paris in 1572, a Jesuit, named Buonanni, informs us that as soon as the news of that 'day of grief and terror' reached Rome, a solemn procession was made to the Church of St. Louis, to chant a *Te Deum* of thanksgiving and publicly to curse the Protestants. The Pope's robe was held by the Imperial Ambassador as he called on the peoples of the Christian world to commend the religion of the King of France to Almighty God. The Pope also ordered the murder of Coligny and his companions to be painted in the hall of the Vatican, and caused a medal to be struck in which an angel armed with a sword and a cross is seen slaying the rebels, and by which Gregory desired to intimate that the massacre was effected by the aid of God and by the Divine counsel and will. The medal bears the well-known legend 'Ugonottorum Strages' (Slaughter of the Huguenots).

The Pope further sent Cardinal Orsino as Legate to France to advise the King to persist

boldly in his undertakings, and not to spoil the cure, successfully commenced by severe remedies, through following them up with milder ones. When the Cardinal reached Avignon, he found the Catholics excusing the massacre as an unfortunate accident. He urged them to take a bolder course more worthy of themselves. At Lyons there had been a slaughter of Protestants only second to that at Paris. The Cardinal sought out the leader of the Lyons butchery to give him absolution and the Papal blessing. Arrived at Paris the Legate found the King trying to charge a political conspiracy against the Huguenots as the cause of the massacre. In the Pope's name he urged Charles openly to claim the credit of a deed achieved for the glory of God and for the honour of the Holy See, so that future ages might know that no personal fears or feelings had led him to consent to the slaughter of his subjects, but zeal for the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, which the Council of Trent had purged from heresy, and which now required the extermination of the Protestant sect.

Such, then, was the spirit in which the Roman Church began its war with the Reformation. In Italy itself the Protestant movement, which had reached considerable dimensions in the northern half of the Peninsula, was now completely stamped

out. 'Whoever was suspected of heresy, whatever his rank, his learning, or his reputation, had to purge himself to the satisfaction of a severe and vigilant tribunal, or die by fire. Heretical books were sought out and destroyed with unsparing rigour. Works which were once in every house were so effectually repressed that no copy of them is now to be found in the most extensive libraries. One book in particular, entitled 'On the Benefit of the Death of Christ,' had this fate. It was written in Tuscan, was many times reprinted, and was eagerly read in every part of Italy. But the Inquisition detected in it the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith alone. They proscribed it, and it is as utterly lost as the second 'decade' of Livy.

So wrote Lord Macaulay in 1840 ; but he was mistaken. Not only have five copies in the original Italian been discovered in the libraries of Cambridge, Stuttgart, and Leibach, but also English, French, German, and Croatian versions have come to light. We now know how truly Protestant that book was, and how widely Protestant doctrine had been spread in North Italy, for no fewer than 40,000 copies of the book were printed in Venice alone. Yet the Inquisition prevailed in the days of these persecuting Popes to suppress both the book and doctrine.

The conversion of the Jews did not escape the

notice of Gregory. At the suggestion of a converted Jew, named Andrias, the Pope compelled the Jews to listen once a week to a Christian sermon. Every Sunday, at least, a hundred men and fifty women, a number afterwards raised to three hundred, were driven by the *sbirri*, with the crack of whips, into the Church of St. Angelo in the fish-market. Papal guards were placed at the doors of the church to prevent their egress until the sermon was ended, while the *sbirri* within brought the lash of the whip upon the shoulders of anyone who fell asleep or seemed to fail in attention. The sermon was delivered by a Dominican priest, who usually preached upon the very text which had formed the theme of the Jewish discourse the previous Sabbath in the Synagogue. Although this practice continued for more than two centuries and a half, and although the lashes were laid on with no sparing hand, the results were but small. This sermon was finally discontinued under Pius IX.

The Pontificate of Gregory XIII. was made for ever memorable by the reform of the Calendar. The errors of the old Julian style had gradually accumulated until the Vernal Equinox had shifted ten days. Gregory, with the assistance of a German astronomer, established the present Calendar, which is in use among all civilized

nations except Russia, and is known as the Gregorian Calendar. In the year 1582, October 15 was made to follow immediately after October 4, and by an ingenious arrangement the present error in the length of the year will not exceed one day in the course of about 3,520 years. Another remarkable event was the accidental re-discovery of the Catacombs in 1578. The existence of these deeply interesting memorials of the primitive Church had been wholly forgotten, when a chance stroke of a workman's pick-axe revealed the entrance to these ancient burying-places.

In the fatal year 1576, the Plague appeared in Europe, and great were its ravages in Germany, France, Spain, and many parts of Italy, especially Venice and Milan. At Rome much alarm was felt, but the city almost entirely escaped. The medal commemorating this event shows us the children of Israel in the wilderness bitten by serpents, and Moses pointing to a pole on which is not the brazen serpent but the winged dragon, which was the Pope's family emblem, and which figures so often on the medals of Gregory. The words are '*Spes Opis Ejusdem*' (Hope of the same help).

The last days of Gregory were saddened by the prevalence of brigandage in the Papal States. Young men of illustrious Roman families were

not ashamed to scour the country at the head of small troops of banditti.

In vain the Pope raised an army under his son Giacomo to suppress them. Dispersed in one place, they reappeared in another. At last the great brigand chief Piccolomini came to Rome and demanded pardon for his crimes. The Pope shuddered at the long catalogue of his murders ; but he was warned that if he refused pardon the vengeance of Piccolomini, who was openly protected by the Duke of Tuscany, would fall on Giacomo. At last the Pope yielded, and with a heart wounded to the quick, signed the Brief of Absolution. This done, the aged Pontiff, feeble and weary of life, lifted up his eyes to Heaven and cried : ‘ Thou wilt arise, O Lord, and have mercy upon Zion.’

Gregory XIII. died at the age of eighty-four in the year 1585. A bas-relief on his marble sarcophagus shows an astronomer with a globe standing beside the Pope and presenting him with the new Calendar. On the other side Faith holds a Bible and a tablet with the words : ‘ I know his works and his faith.’

CHAPTER XVI

SIXTUS V. AND URBAN VII. (1585-1590)

THE tumults and disorder so rife in Rome during the last years of Gregory XIII. convinced the Cardinals that a strong man was needed to restore order, and such a man they hoped to find in the Cardinal Montalto, who took the name of SIXTUS V. They were not mistaken. Sixtus was a man of resolute will and fearless originality, such as but seldom sat in the Papal chair. Queen Elizabeth, no mean judge of character, when urged to marry, is said on one occasion to have replied with a smile, 'I know of but one man that is worthy of my hand, and that man is Sixtus V.'

The father of Sixtus was a poor gardener named Piergentili Peretti, who cultivated oranges and olives in a small hired garden-plot near Montalto. Long childless, he yet had a conviction that he was destined to be the father of a future Pope, and when, on December 13, 1521, a son was born to him, he gave him the name of Felice (Fortunate). The boy

spent his early years watching fruit and tending swine. His father was too poor to afford the necessary pence to send him to school, so the young Felice learnt to read by borrowing horn-books from the other more fortunate children of the village, until a member of the family, who was a Franciscan monk, took pity on him and paid the school fees. Then Felice went to the village school carrying with him a crust of bread, which he ate at noon by the side of a spring of water where he quenched his thirst. At twelve years of age he entered the Franciscan Order, where he was kept under most severe discipline. He often passed his evenings fasting and studying by the light of the lantern hung in the cross-ways, and when that went out, by the lamp burning before the consecrated host in the church.

At last his chance came. In the year 1552 he was appointed to preach the Lent sermons in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Rome. This he did with much success. But one day he found a sealed packet on the pulpit, like those which usually contained requests for prayer ; but inside this one was a list of passages taken from his own sermons, with the words ‘Thou liest’ written opposite to each. With singular wisdom Peretti at once sent the paper to the Inquisition, and awaited the result. Soon the Grand Inquisitor, Michele Ghisleri,

afterwards Pope Pius V., entered his room, and made the young monk undergo a most rigorous examination. Peretti often related afterwards the terror of that hour; but he acquitted himself so well that in the end Ghisleri embraced the young priest with tears, and was ever afterwards his attached patron.

Fra Felice Peretti now threw himself entirely into the strict party of Loyola and Philip Neri. At an early age he was made Vicar-General of the Franciscans by Pius V., with express authority to reform the Order. This he did so effectually that he was made a Cardinal and also Bishop of the very place where he had once looked after his father's swine and fruit. He was also made Consultor to the Inquisition, and had a large share in the condemnation for heresy of the unhappy Cardinal Carranza.

During the reign of Gregory XIII. Cardinal Montalto was not in favour, and lived in frugal seclusion, industriously planting trees and vines, and editing the works of St. Ambrose. Once, indeed, his repose was disturbed by the murder of his only nephew by the lover and the brother of his wife, the notorious Vittoria Accoxamboni. It was an awful tragedy, and eminently characteristic of the times. The Cardinal, however, showed great moderation, and himself asked the Pope to

let the matter drop. This leniency of Peretti was greatly admired, and was thought to have had much to do with his election as Pope in 1585.

Immediately on ascending the throne, Sixtus chose as his motto : ' From my mother's womb, O God, Thou hast been my defender.' He believed himself chosen of God to execute the much-needed reforms, and at once began by warning the Duke of Bracciani, who had married his nephew's widow, and was believed to have been a partner in her crime. The Duke and Duchess fled from Rome ; but the Duke soon died mysteriously, the Duchess was murdered, and her brother was sent to the gallows by the Pope. This was merely the prelude to a general onslaught on evil-doers. Gallows were erected throughout the Papal States, and were not left long unoccupied. It was said that one summer there were more heads fastened on the Bridge of St. Angelo than there were melons in the market at Rome. The guardians of the city even complained that the rotting heads polluted the air. The Pope only replied, ' In that case, gentlemen, you can go elsewhere.' Pasquin had also somewhat to say. St. Peter was represented as leaving Rome with a bundle on his back. Being asked by St. Paul what he was doing, he replied that he had made up his mind to leave Rome, fearing lest he should be hanged for having cut off the ear of

Malchus. The measures adopted by Sixtus were indeed severe, but they were crowned with success. Within a year after his accession peace and order reigned throughout his dominions. An early medal of this reign represents a man lying under a fig-tree, with the words 'Perfecta Securitas.'

No Pope has left more memorials of himself in the public buildings of Rome. The Rome of the present day, and still more that of the period before 1870, owes many of its most striking features to Sixtus V. Early in his reign he began to pine for the fresh country air in which he had been brought up, and in order to enjoy a purer atmosphere than was possible at the Vatican, Sixtus built the grand palace on the Quirinal Hill. All his successors, till 1870, spent part of the year in this palace. There Sixtus died, and, remembering that the bodies of Popes were always embalmed with a view to lying in state, he bequeathed his heart and viscera to the Church of SS. Vincenzo and Anastasio. Twenty-one Popes followed his example, and the urns were placed in a vault behind the high altar. Benedict XIV. placed a memorial in the apse of this church recording the names of the Popes who had made this singular legacy to it.

Another great work of Sixtus V. is the colossal aqueduct for bringing water from the Alban Hills,

and which is called after his name—Aqua Felice. By this Pope the great obelisk which had been brought to Rome by Caligula, and had laid for centuries half buried in the soil, was erected in its present position in front of St. Peter's. The removal was effected with very great difficulty. No less than nine hundred men were employed, and when at last it reached the destined site, their united efforts tugging at the ropes and pulleys failed to raise the obelisk more than half-way. At this juncture, though solemn silence had been strictly enjoined, a sailor from San Remo shouted, 'Give water to the ropes!' When this was done, the ropes swelled and stiffened, and the great needle was raised. As a reward for his services the sailor, whose name was Braccia, was given the privilege, still possessed by his descendants at San Remo, of supplying the palm branches used at St. Peter's on Palm Sunday. It is, however, to be regretted that Sixtus cared nothing for antiquities, but ruthlessly destroyed those which stood in the way of the new streets, piazzas, fountains, and monuments with which he adorned the city.

Among all his domestic concerns Sixtus yet found time to take a part in politics. He excommunicated Henry of Navarre and the Prince de Condé, and warmly espoused the cause of the Guises. When the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal Guise were

murdered, Sixtus was filled with indignation. 'A Cardinal-priest,' said he, 'a noble member of the Holy See, murdered as if there were no Pope in the world : as if no God existed.' He cited the King of France to Rome, and threatened him with excommunication if he disobeyed, and that thus he would undoubtedly perish like King Saul. The Pope's monition was published in France on June 23, 1589, and on August 1 Henry III. was assassinated by the monk Clément. The Pope ascribed the act to the immediate hand of God in removing so infamous a King. By some prudent concessions concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction the Pope conciliated the King of Spain, who, in an autograph letter, informed him that he had commanded his Ministers at Milan and Naples to obey the Papal ordinances as if his own. Sixtus was moved to tears that 'the greatest monarch in the world should so honour a poor monk.' Tuscany and Venice were both more than satisfied with the Pope's policy, and in consequence supported him in the suppression of brigandage.

As regards England, Sixtus at first had great hopes of converting Queen Elizabeth, and, failing this, of bringing the young King James of Scotland to the faith of his mother, Queen Mary of Scots. When he despaired of Elizabeth, he invited Philip to execute the decrees of the Church against her ;

and Philip consented to invade England if the Pope would share expenses, and leave him to deal with the conquered kingdom. Sixtus was reputed to have more money in his treasury than any Prince in Europe, but he could not bear to part with it, nor did he wish to see Spain too powerful. Eventually the Pope and King came to terms. The Pope made Allen, the Spanish agent in England, a Cardinal, with the reversion of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and promised a million crowns to Philip, half to be paid on the landing of the Spanish in England, and half six months later. He also gave the Papal blessing to the Spanish fleet, and presented it with a consecrated banner, while he laid England under a terrible interdict, declaring the Queen to be a usurper, a heretic, and excommunicated. The great preparations made by Philip to fit out an invincible armada and its disastrous failure are matters of history. The correspondence of Olivarez, the Spanish Ambassador at the Vatican, gives a most pitiful account of the vacillations and covetous nature of the Pope. Not a single crown piece could ever be wrung from him. He seemed even pleased at the defeat. Olivarez told the Pope that if he had acted more promptly, and had been less grasping in money matters, the result might have been different. Sixtus replied that he always expected the Spaniards to be beaten. Olivarez

complimented him on having a spirit of prophecy. His Holiness did not make any further answer, but, wrote the Ambassador, 'he turned up the whites of his eyes, and looked piously to heaven,' and so the matter ended.

In order to carry out his great plans for the improvement of Rome Sixtus had need of large sums of money, and to raise the required funds he was obliged to levy fresh taxes and make fresh loans, called *monti*. He attempted too much. Even wool manufactories, silk-weaving, and great agricultural schemes were part of his policy, and in consequence he made many enemies among those who were oppressed by the new taxes. At last he was convinced of this himself, and said, with a humorous pun upon his name Peretti and the three pears (*pere*) upon his coat of arms, 'Rome has had enough of pears; now it is the turn of the chestnut.' This prophecy came true. Sixtus died on August 27, 1590. Just as he expired a thunderstorm burst over the city, and the mob declared that the devil had come for the Pope's soul. They even attempted to destroy his statue on the Capitol. But history has handed down his name to fame as one of the most fortunate and distinguished rulers who ever sat in the Papal chair.

The Papal 'rhythm' caused the next Pope to be

elected from the party opposed to Sixtus. Giambattista Castagna (The Chestnut) was elected under the name of URBAN VII. The new Pope only reigned thirteen days, and died without having done anything either good or bad. Yet a medal was struck in his honour expressive of his good intentions, representing the seven-branched candlestick with its seven lamps with the words, 'So let your light shine.'

CHAPTER XVII

GREGORY XIV., INNOCENT IX., AND CLEMENT VIII.
(1590-1605)

AT the next Conclave there was much conflict between the kinsmen and followers of Sixtus V. and those of his predecessor Gregory XIII. In the end the two parties came to a compromise, and decided upon the Cardinal Sfondrato, who was ill with fever. When the Cardinal Montalto visited him in his cell to prepare him for his coming election, he found him, though still ill, on his knees before the crucifix. The next day he was made Pope, and was called GREGORY XIV.

The new Pope fasted twice a week, said Mass daily, and always recited the appointed prayers upon his knees, and spent an hour daily in reading his favourite devotional author, St. Bernard. He was by birth a subject of Philip II., and was devoted to his interest, and at once declared in favour of the League. In order to promote the cause of the Guises he dispatched his nephew,

Ercole Sfondrato, with a body of horse and foot to act with the League against Henry IV., and out of the treasure collected by Sixtus V. he sent a monthly subsidy of 15,000 *scudi* to Paris. In addition he renewed the excommunication of Henry IV., and ordered all clergy, nobles and people to separate from him. In the midst of these warlike preparations Gregory died, having reigned only ten months and ten days.

Again the Spaniards ruled the Conclave, and elected Giovan - Antonio Facchinetto — INNOCENT IX.—who was judged favourable to their cause. He did indeed send money to the League, and urged Alessandro Farnese to hasten into France and invest Rouen ; but the Pope was old and feeble, he scarcely ever left his bed, and even gave audience there. After having occupied the Papal chair for only two months Innocent died.

Thus for the fourth time in little over twelve months a fresh Conclave was necessary. Brief though the rule of the last three Popes had been, the condition of Rome had begun to deteriorate. Robber bands again appeared in the Papal States, and were seen even at the gates of the city. It was imperative that a man full of life and vigour should be chosen. Such a man was found in the Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandino, who at the

age of fifty-six ascended the Papal throne as CLEMENT VIII.

The Pope had been born in exile. His father was a Florentine Doctor-of-Law, but bitterly opposed to the house of Medici, and had been driven by them to seek his fortune abroad. An elder son of marked ability was made a Cardinal, and to him was due the advancement of the youngest son, Ippolito. He, too, was created Cardinal by Sixtus V., and by him was sent as Nuncio to Poland, where he skilfully managed to get the Archduke Maximilian set free from his captivity, and thus ingratiated himself with Philip II.

The new Pope at once set to work with great earnestness and zeal. He was fond of business, and was also strict in his religious duties. He said Mass every morning, and confessed every evening. He fasted on Fridays and Saturdays, and on other days, when he dined at noon, twelve poor men were invited to dine with him.

The first great object of Clement VIII. was to restore peace to the Catholic world, and to put an end to the everlasting struggle between France and Spain. But Henry of Navarre, now King of France, was a 'relapsed heretic,' who had been formally excommunicated by the last Pope, though said to be now willing to return to the bosom

of the Catholic Church. With infinite skill and discretion Clement brought it about that Henry wrote, saying : 'The King returns to the feet of your Holiness, and implores in all humility, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that you would grant him your holy blessing, and your supreme absolution.' The Pope was fully satisfied, and on December 17, 1595, in a magnificent ceremony in front of St. Peter's, the French representatives threw themselves at the feet of the Pontiff, who granted absolution with a touch of his wand.

The Pope then made overtures to both Philip and Henry in the interests of peace. The General of the Franciscans, who was the Papal Legate in Spain, induced Philip to give up the strong places held by him in France on the condition that Henry should separate himself from his Protestant friends and allies in England and the Netherlands. After long hesitation Henry consented, and the peace of Vervins was signed in May, 1598. This was followed by a reconciliation between the Duke of Savoy and the King of France on terms arranged by the Pope, soon after which Papal envoys were sent to congratulate Henry IV. and Marie de' Medici on the birth of a son, afterwards Louis XIII.

These brilliant diplomatic successes did not prevent Clement from attending to the affairs

of his own States. On the death of the childless Duke of Este, the Pope succeeded in realizing the dream of his predecessor, and peacefully incorporated Ferrara in the Papal dominions. A beautiful series of medals commemorates all these successes of Clement.

In the year 1598, the Tiber overflowed its banks, and caused one of the greatest inundations ever known. Two arches of the Æmilian bridge were swept away, and no less than 1,500 persons perished in the flood. Such a catastrophe was not unnaturally looked upon as a Divine judgment for the awful crimes committed by the Roman nobles. There was, indeed, almost an epidemic of crime; but the most fearful tragedy of all was the murder of the wicked Count Francesco Cenci, by the order of his wife and children, among whom was the beautiful and famous Beatrice Cenci. The terrible story with all its loathsome details is immortalized in the poem of Shelley, and need not be repeated here. The Pope, in spite of the earnest prayers of the highest personages in Rome, dealt with the murderers with severe justice. The widow Lucrezia and the daughter Beatrice were guillotined in public, and the eldest son was racked and cut into four pieces. The youngest boy escaped only with torture. The heads and limbs of the criminals were exposed on the bridge

of St. Angelo, and the Pope confiscated all their immense possessions and accumulated wealth. After these grievous events the twelfth Jubilee held in 1600 afforded some relief to the impoverished and horror-struck people of Rome.

Clement VIII. was an ardent and extreme Catholic, and was ever animated by an intense feeling against Protestantism. In 1600 he sent a Bull to encourage the Irish rebels Desmond and O'Neill to revolt from England. He also took away from Bishops and Superiors of Orders the power to grant licenses to read prohibited books, including the Bible. Yet he sought to do right. He was a powerful and successful ruler, and may be considered as one of the best Popes of his time.

Perhaps the greatest blot on the reign of Clement VIII. was the burning at Rome in the year 1600 of the illustrious philosopher, Giordano Bruno. This great man was one of the most original thinkers of his day, and a great friend of Sir Philip Sidney. He was originally a Dominican monk, but embraced the reformed doctrines, and spent two years in England, and visited and lectured at Paris and many chief German towns. Returning to Italy he was arrested at Venice in 1598, and after two years' imprisonment at Rome was there burnt as a heretic.

with a powerful head set on a neck like a bull's, indicating only too well his haughty and passionate character. He was the first Pope who wore his beard cut after the fashion of the cavaliers.

Before his election to the popedom, Cardinal Borghese had led a most retired life among his books, and had taken no active part in politics. Neither the French nor Spanish parties feared his antagonism, and to this in great part he owed the tiara. But as soon as he mounted the Papal throne he entirely changed his demeanour, and astonished even those who had already been too familiar with such sudden transformations. As he had been elected without any of the usual arts and intrigues, he looked upon himself as Divinely chosen, and raised to the Papacy not by men but by God, whose Vicegerent on earth he felt himself to be.

Most Popes began their reign by some act of mercy, but Paul's first act was one of excessive severity. There was a poor author named Piccinardi, who had written but had not yet published a life of Clement VIII., whom he foolishly compared to Tiberius. The Pope heard of this, and, to the astonishment of all, had the miserable man beheaded on the fatal bridge of St. Angelo. No mercy could be expected from Paul; even the poor man's tiny fortune was confiscated by the Pope.

The day when principalities were carved out for the Papal nephews was long past, but villas, riches, and titles were still conferred by the Popes on their nephews and relations, and thus a new Roman nobility was created which had its origin in the Vatican. Paul V. was conspicuous in this enrichment of his family. He gave to his nephew, Cardinal Scipio Borghese, a large share of the forfeited wealth and estates of the great Cenci family, and the Cardinal, thus enriched, built the famous Villa Borghese, which with its unrivalled art treasures was purchased by the Italian Government in 1900.

Paul V. was determined to assert the claims of the Papacy to their fullest extent. He considered the Papal decretals to be the laws of God, and that the Pope was God's representative upon earth to carry them into effect. This assumption soon brought the Pope into conflict with all the Italian States, but Paul did not hesitate to use the severest menaces and ecclesiastical censures. He even excommunicated the Regent of Naples for a trifling offence. One after another of the Italian Governments submitted to this imperious Pope, intending to reassert their rights under some future Pontiff of more yielding disposition. The proud Republic of Venice alone resisted, and to some purpose. Venice had always maintained a certain inde-

pendence in ecclesiastical affairs. The Venetians wished to be good Catholics, but desired to manage their affairs both temporal and ecclesiastical without the interference of the Pope or *Curia*. At this time there were three causes of special exasperation. Certain ecclesiastics had been guilty of heinous offences, and had been brought before the criminal courts of Venice, and the Pope now demanded that they should be sent to Rome to be dealt with by himself. Moreover, Paul insisted that the Cardinals, monks, friars, and all who by any sort of title could be included among the Pope's household should be exempted from the greater part of the taxes upon their Venetian property. In consequence of this the burden of taxation fell with oppressive weight upon the poorer classes. Lastly, the printing-press in Venice had been exceedingly flourishing, and had to a large extent supplied the book-trade in Italy ; but the increasing severity of the Inquisition, and the restrictive orders of the Holy Office that the new edition of the Vulgate as well as all Missals and Breviaries must be printed at Rome, was ruining the printing-trade of Venice.

The Venetians therefore determined to make a stand, and accordingly refused to surrender the guilty priests. Instantly Paul laid the whole Republic under a most terrible Interdict. The

Venetians replied by ordering all priests to choose between their country and Rome, and commanded all who refused to say Mass to leave their territory.

The Jesuits and certain other regulars instantly took ship and left. The secular clergy continued their duties, and even celebrated the Feast of Corpus Christi with unusual magnificence. It was an open schism. Paul was amazed, and appealed to France and Spain to help him to chastise the rebels. It suited neither of these powers to go to war to maintain the Pope's prerogative, but both offered to mediate, and sent special envoys to Venice. The Venetians, who had been encouraged in their resistance by a wonderful man, Fra Paolo Sarpi, were willing to come to terms, though not such as were wholly acceptable to the Pope. They surrendered the offending priests to the French Ambassador, who forthwith handed them to the Papal Legate ; they agreed to receive absolution, but only in a private meeting of the Senate ; but one thing they would not do, they would not receive back the Jesuits. Nothing could shake their determination on this point, and the Pope with sore heart was obliged to yield. It was the first instance of that which was repeated again and again in all parts of the world—the expulsion of the Jesuits from the territories of a Catholic State.

In dealing with English affairs Paul exhibited the same intransigent attitude. In his Brief of October 1, 1606, he wrote to the English Roman Catholics that 'the oath of allegiance to the English Crown could not be taken without injury to the Catholic faith.' This course of conduct brought forth bitter fruit. There is yet extant a memorial to the Pope couched in most pitiful language, and signed by eleven priests who were under sentence of death in Newgate for refusing the oath of allegiance to King James I. in 1612. Two priests had already suffered death, and the rest implored His Holiness by all that is sacred to attend to their horrible situation, and to point out clearly what there was in the oath repugnant to the Catholic faith. It was in vain. Paul would not recede from his Brief, and the priests perished.

Two other instances of the almost fanatical zeal of Paul V. may be mentioned. On July 4, 1610, Fulgentio Manfredi was burnt for heresy in Rome by order of the Inquisition, and in 1615 the illustrious astronomer, Galileo, was imprisoned for declaring that the earth went round the sun.

It was during the procession to celebrate the crushing of the Bohemian Protestants at the Battle of Weissburg that Paul V. was struck down by apoplexy. He died on January 28, 1615, and was buried in the magnificent chapel erected by

himself in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. The bas-reliefs on his monument represent the reception of Ambassadors from the Congo and Japan, the canonization of Francesca Romana and Carlo Borromeo, the erection of the fortress of Ferrara, and the sending Papal troops into Hungary to assist the Emperor Rudolph II. against the Turks.

CHAPTER XIX

GREGORY XV. (1621-1623)

A LESSANDRO LUDOVISIO, of Bologna, was elected Pope on February 9, 1621, and took the title of GREGORY XV. He was a small man of phlegmatic disposition, but with a reputation of being a skilful diplomatist.

Gregory had, however, become old and feeble, and during his short reign the real director of affairs was his brilliant and magnificent nephew, Ludovico Ludovisio, who was nominated as Cardinal on the very day after his uncle's coronation. The Cardinal Ludovisio was a pupil of the Jesuits, and devoted to their interests, and their spirit pervaded the whole of the new Papal government. Their two great founders, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, were canonized, and the splendid Church of St. Ignazio was built in connection with their college at Rome. Cardinal Ludovisio largely contributed to its erection, and left by will 200,000 *scudi* for its completion.

The great work of the reign of Gregory XV.

was the institution of the Congregation of the Propaganda, with the double aim of converting the heathen and extirpating heresy. The Pope drew up a constitution for the Congregation, which was to consist of thirteen Cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary, and was charged with the work of propagating and maintaining the Roman Catholic religion in all parts of the world both far and near. Gregory took the utmost interest in all the missionary plans of the Propaganda, and caused the congregation to assemble every month in his presence that he might be kept acquainted with their doings and direct their progress. Both the Pope and his nephew were large contributors to the mission funds. Gregory XV. was the first Pope who understood that the glory of the Church consisted, not in the possession of small Italian States, but in spreading the Roman Catholic faith throughout the world.

Unhappily Gregory's efforts were not confined to the conversion of the heathen ; he was equally zealous in the persecution of those whom he called heretics. He at once doubled the Papal subsidy given to the Emperor Ferdinand II. for suppressing Protestantism in Bohemia and Hungary, and sent as Nuncio the celebrated Cardinal Caraffa. The Nuncio, armed with Imperial authority, first proceeded to Bohemia, and declared the Pro-

testants to be 'guilty against both Divine and human majesty.' He induced the Imperial Government at Prague to banish the Lutheran preachers, and filled their places with Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite monks. Large numbers of Jesuits also arrived from the Propaganda to take the duty of parish priests. Much landed property was confiscated, and the Nuncio was ordered to press for the restitution of all Church property. The Councils of the Royal Cities were changed and purified from all heretics. The rebellious were pardoned as soon as they abjured their heresy, but the perverse and obstinate had troops quartered in their houses in order, said the Nuncio, 'that their vexations may give them some insight into the truth.' So great was the success of these operations that the Jesuits reported 16,000 conversions in one year. In Hungary, though less forcible means were used, the change was nearly as great. In Spain the Nuncio, Monsignor Sangro, was directed above all things to demand the renewal of the war with the Netherlands.

In Italy there still remained a small body of people, called Vaudois or Waldenses, who inhabited the upper valleys of Piedmont, and clung earnestly to the reformed religion. A Brief of Gregory XV. dated May 27, 1621, conferred on the Duke of

Savoy the right of receiving for six years a tithe of the ecclesiastical revenues in his States, on the condition that he should apply these revenues to the suppression of heresy. At once the Duke began a very bitter persecution of all Vaudois and other reformers in Piedmont. Many of the Vaudois villages were invaded by an army of soldiers and monks under the warlike Bishop of Saluzzo. A few families in their utter misery and indigence suffered themselves to be 'converted'; many, abandoning their little farms and property fled across the Alps, and not a few of the Vaudois settlements were entirely wrecked and destroyed. The Pope even urged the Duke of Savoy, who still bore the title of Count of Geneva, to go further and utterly destroy the bad city of Geneva, as the chief helper and adviser of Huguenots and heretics.

To Gregory XV. also belongs the elaborate Bull regulating the Papal Conclaves, which is still the ruling statute in force. By it secret voting was introduced, and Cardinals who are laymen may vote if they can produce a Papal dispensation, or they may be admitted to Holy Orders by the Cardinal Vicar in the Conclave itself. A Cardinal's right to vote at Papal elections is to be considered as absolutely sacred. No censure, no suspension, not even excommunication can deprive him of it.

Even Cardinals guilty of crime must be released from prison, and be freed from all other disabilities during the election period.

It is indeed wonderful how much was accomplished in this short reign of little more than two years, but the end came at last, and the infirm old Pope died. He was buried in the Jesuit Church, which had been built under his patronage, and his monument by Le Gros exhibits the Pope in all the rich and florid magnificence adopted by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. Below his sarcophagus stands that of his once all-powerful nephew, the great patron of the Jesuit Order, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisio.

Before leaving the reign of Gregory XV. we may pause for a moment to consider how marvelously successful had been the efforts of the Jesuits and their allies to extend the supremacy of Catholicism over the world. The spiritual fervour of Philip Neri and his associated priests had awakened zeal for religion in many parts of Italy, while the Jesuit Fathers had by their unwearied and even heroic enthusiasm penetrated into the most distant regions. The self-abnegation of Ignatius Loyola and the ardour of Francis Xavier attracted thousands of disciples. In South America there were already Bishops and Archbishops, hundreds of monasteries and innumerable priests.

In Mexico great schools of theology were established. In India, especially on the western coast, the converts were numbered by thousands. In China and Japan there were hundreds of churches and tens of thousands of disciples. On the Congo were flourishing missions, which penetrated almost into the heart of Africa. Everywhere the Church was seen striving almost in the spirit of primitive Christianity to make converts and to found an Empire on which the sun should never set. What had been lost in Europe was gained in the world.

CHAPTER XX

URBAN VIII. (1623-1644)

THE next Pope, Maffeo Barberini, was a Florentine by birth, belonging to an important family who had distinguished themselves by their business capacity and commercial success. Maffeo, however, owed his rise not only to the wealth of his family, but even more to his own remarkable talents. As Nuncio at Paris, he had been very acceptable to the French Government, and when a vacancy occurred in the Papacy he was put forward as the candidate of the French party. He knew also how to conciliate the opposing faction, and was elected Pope at the early age of fifty-five under the title of URBAN VIII. His reign lasted twenty-one years ; it was the longest since Adrian I. (772-795).

Congratulations from all sides greeted the new Pontiff. Not only was he welcomed by the Emperor, the Kings of France and Poland, and the rulers of the various Italian States, but it was a sign of the advance of missionary enterprise that

congratulatory deputations arrived from the Sultan of Sidon, the Sultan of Ethiopia, and even from the King of the Congo, 'a people and country new to the ears of Europe.' Urban was much gratified by the good wishes of the Catholic Princes of Europe, but expressed even greater delight at the proofs of the progress of the faith among the heathen and Mohammedans as testified by these deputations.

Urban VIII. regarded himself mainly as a temporal Prince. His early life had been spent in diplomatic business, and thus he had acquired a taste for statesmanship. Although like all the Popes of his time he made his nephews Cardinals and employed them as Secretaries of State, yet he always kept the reins in his own hands, and was the real director of the Papal policy. It was his great aim to consolidate the Papal States, and to this end he fortified anew the Castle of St. Angelo, and stored it with munitions of war. He also enlarged and strengthened the port of Civita Vecchia, and established a manufactory of weapons at Tivoli, and by his skilful diplomacy annexed the Duchy of Urbino to the Papal dominions.

It would be altogether foreign to the purpose of this book to attempt to describe the endless and complicated schemes by which the Pope sought to maintain the ascendancy of Catholicism in Europe.

But in France Cardinal Richelieu was in every way superior in foresight and ability to the Pope. He saw what Urban failed to see, that the time was come when the nations of Europe would no longer submit to interference in temporal matters by a small body of Italian ecclesiastics, while in Germany Urban's unwise insistence on his extreme rights made the breach between Rome and the Northern Protestant Powers final and irrevocable. In this reign the great struggle between the two opposing forces of Catholicism and Protestantism drew to its close, and shortly after the death of Urban the famous Peace of Westphalia (1648) put an end to the strife, and fixed the limits of the Papal sphere of influence.

It will be more interesting for us to trace the relations between Pope Urban and England, for which country he always professed an extreme regard. In the early days of his Nunciature at Paris, Cardinal Barberini had written to James I. on his accession to assure him of the paternal affection of Clement VIII. for the son of Mary, Queen of Scots. Again, in January, 1606, after the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, Barberini wrote to express the gratification of the Roman Court at the preservation of the King's life, and urging him to deal kindly with the English Catholics. In this letter the Nuncio employed much judicious

flattery, and wrote of the new Pope: 'Oh, how great is the paternal love of the most holy Paul V., chief Pontiff, towards your Majesty!' At the same time the Cardinal offered a refuge to proscribed English Catholics, and endeavoured to restrain the ill-timed zeal of the Jesuit missionaries in England.

Very early in his Pontificate Urban showed the deepest interest in the projected marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta of Spain. Writing to King James, he expressed his great pleasure at the proposed alliance, and while flattering the King's literary talents, begged him earnestly to return to the faith of his ancestors. At the close of the letter, carried away by the prospect of recovering England for Rome, the Pope exclaims, 'I saw in Britain a new heaven and a new city descending from heaven, and above the walls were angels keeping guard.' The Pope had also correspondence with Prince Charles, and did everything in his power to smooth the way for the marriage, but demanded that articles should be inserted in the marriage contract providing that the offspring of the union should have Roman Catholic nurses, and that Roman Catholic chapels should be erected in every county of England.

The obstinacy of Olivarez and the diplomacy of Richelieu caused the match to be broken off; but

the Pope was no less pleased with the next matrimonial project of the Prince. Henrietta Maria was a true Catholic, and the Pope, in giving the necessary dispensation for her marriage, stipulated that her children must be educated solely by Catholics till their thirteenth year, and that Henrietta must be accompanied to England by a Bishop and twenty-four chaplains, the Bishop having full jurisdiction over the Papal establishment. But before the marriage could take place King James died, and it was only after his accession to the throne, in 1635, that Charles I. married the French Princess. The Pope had sadly miscalculated the strength of Protestant feeling in England, and it was not long before Charles was forced to dismiss the French Catholics in the Queen's household, and to become the unwilling oppressor of English Romanists.

The Pope was rudely awakened from his dream of recovering England to the Papacy. In his vexation he even proceeded to invite France and Spain to unite in a holy war of vengeance against the heretic King. A joint fleet was to hold the English Channel, while a detachment was to descend upon Ireland, 'it being so much to the advantage of Spain and France that that island should be in Papal hands.'

The scheme for the invasion of England broke

down, but Queen Henrietta always remained the good friend of the Pope. In 1633 Douglas was sent to Paris as representative of the Queen and the Catholic nobility, and in return Panzani was sent to England as Papal representative at the Court of the Queen. He was succeeded by a Scot, named George Con, who was again replaced by Carlo Rosetti. This last envoy reported most favourably of the progress being made by the Catholic religion in England. But Charles wanted money, and in his helplessness appealed to Rome for aid. The Queen pleaded with the Pope for only £150,000. It was in vain that they asked. Urban would not give money to a heretic Prince, even though he had hopes of his conversion. Those hopes were never to be realized, yet Urban might console himself that his efforts were not altogether useless. The harvest was to be reaped hereafter, when the two sons of Henrietta came successively to the throne of England.

But not only in England was Urban zealous in trying to bring back Protestants to the Roman obedience. In Darmstadt, Saxony, Geneva, Sweden, and even in Orthodox Russia, the agents of Urban, who were chiefly Jesuit teachers and diplomatists, were active in making converts to Rome, especially among the upper classes of society. Urban also showed some measure of interest in

missions to the heathen, and helped forward the work of the Propaganda by building a new College for the education of missionaries.

At Rome the rule of Urban VIII. was undoubtedly popular. The Romans liked their splendour-loving Florentine Pope, and in 1637 they recorded their grateful feelings to him by the inscription on the statue which they erected in his honour on the Capitol. In this reign, St. Peter's, after so many years, was finally completed, and the magnificent baldacchino of bronze erected, after which it was publicly consecrated by the Pope. Unfortunately the bronze or so-called Corinthian brass, was taken from the Pantheon, for Urban had no great respect for antiquity. With reference to this Pasquin put forth one of his most celebrated epigrams: '*Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecit Barberini*' (What the barbarians did not do, that Barberini did).

Urban was the friend of all men of letters and art. Painters, sculptors, architects, and men of science were equally welcome at his Court. Galileo was received with special honour, and had long audiences with the Pope, who gave him his friendship, though he did not feel able to rescind the decree of Paul V. against him. When in 1632 Galileo again published a book on the '*System of the World*,' though he was brought before the

Holy Office, and his opinion that the earth moved was condemned as 'absurd, false in philosophy, and essentially heretical,' he was treated with every consideration. Galileo was kept in prison for only three weeks, and on his recantation was lodged in the Villa Medici. It was undoubtedly due to Urban's moderation and kindness that the great astronomer escaped so lightly. It was this Pope who first condemned the doctrines of the Jansenists, and to him also the Cardinals owe the title of 'Eminence.'

The latter days of Urban, like those of so many of his predecessors, were clouded by domestic troubles. The fear that he had unduly favoured his nephews weighed heavily upon his soul, and the consciousness that in many respects his policy had been a failure filled him with concern. He summoned to his bedside certain theologians eminent for their wisdom and probity, and begged them to say whether he had exceeded his authority in enriching his nephews, and offered to take back from them whatever he had wrongly bestowed upon them; but the theologians advised him to let things remain as they were. When the last words of consolation were being administered to the dying Pope, he altered the words of the ritual, and exclaimed in Latin: 'God be merciful to me the chief of sinners.'

FOURTH PERIOD

THE DECLINE OF THE PAPACY

CHAPTER XXI

INNOCENT X. (1644-1655)

THE age of the Renaissance was now long past. The great forces of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation had both lost their vigour, and a sharp line was being drawn between the countries and states which had embraced Protestantism, and those which had settled down again into Catholicism. But the centre of gravity of European history had been changed, and was now for ever transferred from Rome to the countries beyond the Alps. The spirit of nationality began to assert itself; great nations were no longer content to submit the direction of their internal affairs to the interference of a clique of ecclesiastics at Rome presided over by an aged priest, who in many instances was wholly out of touch with the age he lived in.

Moreover, in the period of decline upon which we are entering, the great religious revival and epoch of missionary zeal began to flag, and even the Jesuits let go the high principles and aims

which actuated their great founders. It was a period of comparative stagnation in politics, and still more in religious fervour; and the Papacy settled down into a policy of maintaining and enjoying the little Italian monarchy still left to it. Its external politics were shifty, and dictated by fear rather than by ambition, till at the close of the war of the Spanish succession the Papacy was hardly considered to rank among the European Powers. Throughout the last half of the seventeenth century and during the whole of the eighteenth century, the Popes played but a very minor part in European politics, while in Italy the general effects of Papal rule and influence were seen in steadily increasing poverty, superstition, and incompetence.

On the death of Urban VIII. there was again a great change. The confederate Italian Princes, led by the Medici, procured the election of Cardinal Pamfili, who was strongly in favour of Spain, and had been expressly objected to by the French Court. The new Pope took the name of INNOCENT X.

One of the first acts of the new Pontiff was to take measures against the family of his predecessor. The Barberini tried to shelter themselves under the ægis of France, and even placed the French arms on the front of their palaces. It was all in

vain. The Pope declared that he would do what he called justice against them, even if the Bourbons were at the gates of Rome. The nephews of Urban were all forced to flee from the city ; their palaces were seized, and their offices given to others amid the applause of the Roman people.

In his earlier days Cardinal Pamfili had been employed as Nuncio. He had displayed considerable diplomatic skill, but notwithstanding all his efforts he was unable to prolong the Thirty Years' War, which was ended in 1648 by the peace of Westphalia. By this treaty the Catholics and Protestants in Northern Europe agreed to leave each other alone, and in the preamble the contracting parties declared that they would not regard the opposition of anyone-soever whether temporal or spiritual. The day of Papal authority over Europe had gone by, and when in 1651 Innocent X. launched a violent Bull against the Treaty, the weary world refused to pay any attention to the old man's anathema.

During this reign much trouble was caused by the quarrels between the Jesuits and the Dominicans and Jansenists. It was always a principle in Jesuit missions that as much as possible of the old heathen rites and ceremonies should be retained and incorporated by them into the religion of their converts, and to this much of their success was

due. In China this principle had been carried to great lengths. The first great Jesuit missionary, Father Ricci, was dressed as a Lama or Fo priest, and gained a great number of adherents by suppressing many of the chief doctrines of Christianity, such as the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Resurrection, at the same time allowing much of the Chinese ancestral worship and ancient ceremonies. This course of conduct was continued by the successors of Ricci, but was violently opposed by the Dominicans, and was condemned in 1645 by Innocent, who strongly disapproved of their proceedings.

On the other hand, the Jesuits procured from Innocent the condemnation of five famous Propositions, which they professed to have extracted from the works of Jansenius, and which concerned the nature and effects of Divine grace. The chief points which were condemned treated of the irresistible nature of the grace of God and the consequent inability of the human will to co-operate in receiving grace or to reject it when offered. The greater part of the French or Gallican clergy were favourable to the Jansenists, and sent deputies to Rome to entreat the Pope to suspend his judgment. The subject was altogether hateful to Innocent. Personally, he disliked all theological disputations and cared nothing for scholastic

subtleties, but Jesuit influence prevailed, and on May 31, 1653, the Pope condemned by a public Bull all the Five Propositions which were said to be contained in the teaching of Jansenius.

During this reign the persecution of the Waldenses was carried on with the utmost fury. The Pope himself does not seem to have had much share in it, but the agents of the Propaganda urged the Duke of Savoy and Louis XIV. to 'extirpate the heretics,' and the Duke, assisted by French troops, employed such savagery in his attack on the Waldenses that he left but a very small remnant surviving. It was at this time that Milton wrote his celebrated sonnet:

'Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold,' etc.,

and also as Latin Secretary to the Protector penned the noble letters of remonstrance addressed by Cromwell to the Duke of Savoy and the French King.

Innocent X. was already in his seventy-third year when he was elected Pope, and was wholly under the influence of a proud imperious woman, Donna Olympia Maidalchina, the widow of his brother. For a time it was thought that her son, Don Camillo, would be made Cardinal-Nephew; but an opportunity of making a splendid marriage

with Donna Olympia Aldobrandini diverted his mind from an ecclesiastical career, and made him return to a secular condition.

The contentions of these two Ladies Olympia were the bane of Innocent X. First one and then the other gained power in the Vatican, and completely swayed the aged Pontiff. Finally the mother-in-law prevailed, and her bust stands side by side with that of the Pope in the Villa Pamfili. It needs but a glance at the mild inexpressive features of Innocent, and the firm decided lines in the countenance of Donna Olympia, to see that she must have been the ruling spirit. We read that such was her influence that Ambassadors paid their visit to her on arriving at Rome, Cardinals placed her portrait in prominent positions in their apartments, and foreign Courts tried to win her favour by costly presents. As she grew more and more powerful, her desire for authority and gain increased. All who desired to obtain preferment approached her with gifts. The Church livings, and even the Episcopal Sees, were disposed of as she thought good, and her favours were always bestowed on those whose gifts were largest. The aged Pope disapproved of much that was done, but lacked the energy to free himself from the baneful influence of his imperious sister-in-law.

Historians are much divided as to the private character of Pope Innocent X. Some have not hesitated to accuse him of having immoral relations with Donna Olympia, but it seems more reasonable as well as more charitable to take the view of Von Ranke that such suggestions, which were far too commonly made in those evil days, were in this case groundless. We cannot, however, forbear to notice the witty satire of Pasquin, who said of the Pope : ‘ He loves Olympia more than Olympus ’ (*i.e.*, Heaven). The report of the Venetian Ambassadors at Rome, who were not usually too favourable to the Popes, spoke in distinctly high terms of Innocent X. at his succession, though as he grew older and more indolent they were less pleased with him.

When at last the Pope died at the age of eighty-two, there was no one who would care for his burial. Donna Olympia was appealed to that she should supply the coffin, but she answered that she was a widow and too poor to afford the expense. The body was placed in an empty chamber used by masons to store their materials, and one of the workmen, out of pity, placed a lighted candle at the head of the corpse. Next day a Canon of St. Peter’s, who had been dismissed from the Papal service, returned good for evil, and paid five *scudi* to have the Pope buried

in the Church of St. Agnes which he had built. Yet his own nephew Don Camillo was in possession of the Pamfili Palace, which is one of the most splendid in Rome. 'Sic transit gloria mundi.'

The medals of Innocent X. are not very numerous. His coat of arms had the dove of peace holding an olive-branch in the field, surmounted by three fleurs-de-lis, granted to the Pamfili family for services rendered to France. The dove, the olive, and the lilies occur frequently on the medals. The earliest of these shows the Virgin Mary in a cloud; the legend, 'From whom cometh my help,' expresses the belief of Innocent that his election was due to her favour. The day of his election was that dedicated to the Exaltation of the Cross, and several medals represent this fact with the words: 'He brought forth his fruit in due time' (Ps. i. 3). Others show the great Pamfili Palace, and the Church of St. Agnes standing near, which owed their foundation to this Pope.

CHAPTER XXII

ALEXANDER VII. AND CLEMENT IX. (1655-1669)

FOR the first time for many centuries the Cardinals entered the next Conclave free to exercise their votes without any pressure from Cardinal-Nephews. During the last years of Innocent X., a group of Cardinals had been formed of men who were determined to act according to the dictates of their conscience without allowing any outside power to influence their votes. They were known as the Squadron of the Holy Ghost, or more popularly as the Flying Squadron (*Squadrone Volante*). When the Pope lay dying, one of this squadron, Cardinal Ottobuono, exclaimed : ‘ This time we must have an honest man ! ’ ‘ If you want an honest man there stands one,’ said another, pointing to Cardinal Chigi, and in spite of all the efforts of France, directed by the great Cardinal Mazarin, Fabio Chigi was elected Pope under the name of ALEXANDER VII.

The new Pope at once ordered Donna Olympia to leave Rome within three days and retire to her

villa near Viterbo. He intended to have made her account for all moneys which had passed through her hands ; but she suddenly died of the plague deserted by all her friends. Alexander, who owed his rise in great measure to Pope Innocent, allowed the Prince Pamfili to inherit her enormous fortune with her splendid palace at Rome.

In the first year of his reign the Pope visited Siena, his native city. A minute description of the magnificent pageants and games held in his honour still exists in the Sienese library. The marble wolf in the public fountain on the piazza for several days spouted forth streams of wine. Torchlight processions escorting immense allegorical cars paraded the streets in the evening, while displays of fireworks illuminated the whole city. It is sad to relate that bull-fights, which had been abolished for fifty years, were renewed in honour of the **H**oly Father for this occasion only.

Alexander VII., at the beginning of his reign, declared himself strongly against nepotism, and would not permit his nephews to reside in Rome. But there were not wanting advisers to urge him 'to become a man,' according to the phrase of the day, and do as others had done before him. Oliva, Rector of the Jesuit College, went so far as to say that the Pope would be guilty of mortal

sin if he did not summon his nephews to his side to assist him in the administration of the Church. Alexander at length yielded, and having yielded he proceeded to bestow all the highest honours on his brother and nephew and to load them with riches. Still, things were not altogether as before. The congregation of Cardinals gained much power. The Pope took but little active part in business, and left the administration of the State in the hands of the able secretary, Cardinal Rospigliosi.

In theological matters Alexander was much influenced by the Jesuits. He induced the Republic of Venice to allow their return after fifty years of banishment from the Venetian territory. The Pope also approved of their missionary methods in China, and permitted their converts to practise ancestral rites. But chiefly the influence of the Jesuits was seen in the Pope's treatment of the French Jansenists.

Innocent X. had condemned the famous Five Propositions, but the Jansenists had subscribed to the Papal decrees, because they said the Propositions were not contained in the writing of Jansenius. On October 16, 1656, Alexander VII. issued a Bull again condemning the Five Propositions, and further declaring that they were faithfully extracted from the works of Jansenius, and that they were heretical in the sense of the

author. In vain the Jansenists maintained that, however infallible in the matters of doctrine, the Pope was not infallible in matters of fact. In vain Pascal, in his celebrated 'Provincial Letters,' insisted that the Pope had been misled, and that these doctrines were not to be found in the condemned books. The Pope said they were, and the following year published a second Bull containing a Formulary which the French clergy were to sign. The Vicar-General of Paris, by the permission of the King, proceeded forthwith to enforce the Papal mandate with the utmost rigour. All clergy and ecclesiastics who refused to sign the Formulary were deprived of their livings and exiled from France. The poor nuns of Port Royal were specially marked out for persecution. The sub-prioress, Jacqueline Pascal, niece of the great writer, was so harassed by the conflict which she endured that she shortly afterwards died—'the first victim,' as she expressed it, 'of the Formulary.' Her uncle, who loved her dearly, when informed of her death, said, 'God grant us grace that our death may be like hers.'

In 1662 a curious quarrel arose between Louis XIV. and Pope Alexander VII. Certain Papal guards from Corsica, at the instigation, as it was supposed, of the Pope's nephews, insulted

the Duke of Crequi, the French Ambassador at Rome, and his Duchess. As the Pope delayed to give the required satisfaction, the French troops were ordered to proceed to Italy. The terrified Pope at once agreed to all the French demands, and concluded peace with Louis at Pisa on the most inglorious and mortifying conditions. The Pope's nephew was sent to Paris to sue for pardon, the Corsican guards were dismissed from the Pope's service, and a pyramid was erected at Rome bearing an inscription recording the Papal submission.

Yet Alexander had consolations in his reign. The gifted but eccentric Queen Christina of Sweden abdicated her throne in order to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. Having done this she was received at Rome by the Pope with the utmost pomp and ceremony. After receiving the Papal benediction the Queen presented her crown and sceptre as a thankoffering to Our Lady of Loretto.

Alexander VII. was fond of building, and many churches and public edifices were constructed or restored by his directions. The magnificent Scala Regia at the Vatican Palace, and the well-known circular colonnades in front of St. Peter's, are due to this Pope, and are represented on his medals. His countenance was fine and manly, and affords

the last instance of the cavalier beard. From this time the pointed beard of the Wallenstein period and the martial faces of the Popes disappear, as they become less like secular Princes and more like rulers of a world-wide Church.

The medals of Alexander VII. are remarkably beautiful. Two of them have on the reverse a striking head of the Saviour, with the words 'Peace be unto you' and 'I live, yet not I,' respectively. Another represents the procession of Corpus Christi, and was struck to commemorate the institution of this festival by Alexander in 1655. A very curious and beautifully-executed medal shows the Chair of St. Peter supported by the two great Latin Fathers, St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, on the one side, and by the two great Greek Fathers, St. Chrysostom and St. Athanasius, on the other. This commemorates the fact that the ancient wooden chair, from which according to Roman tradition St. Peter preached, was enclosed in a chair of bronze, after the designs of Bernini, by order of Alexander VII. A very fine medal shows the canonization of St. Francis de Sales, Bishop and Prince of Geneva, in 1665. Another curious medal represents Androclus the gladiator, with shield and buckler, about to fight with a lion in the amphitheatre, when the noble beast, recognis-

ing his goodness, came and licked his feet. This medal was struck in honour of Alexander by a Roman patrician, Dominic Jacobazzi, who had received many favours from the Pope.

On the death of Alexander VII. the Cardinals of the 'Squadrone' again had the decisive voice in the Conclave, and by them Cardinal Rospigliosi, Secretary of State, was elected under the name of CLEMENT IX. His reign only lasted two years, but all agreed that a kinder or better Pope never existed. He entirely refrained from unduly putting forward his own kindred or enriching them at the public expense. His life was pure, and his love of justice and peace conspicuous; but he was somewhat diffident and wanting in self-reliance.

The chief glory of his reign was the peace at length happily concluded between France and Spain. The Pope took a prominent part in arranging the terms of this peace, which was signed on June 8, 1668. A medal celebrates the procession of the Pope attended by the Cardinals and preceded by the clergy as they went to St. Peter's to thank God for 'the peace granted by Him to His peoples.' Another medal represents Concord and Peace seated and embracing each other, while Discord lies prostrate at their feet. The same peace-loving Pope came

also to an agreement with Portugal, and so ended a long-standing quarrel.

The great moderation of Clement IX. was also strikingly displayed towards the persecuted Jansenists of France. He permitted these hardly-pressed Christians to make only a conditional subscription to the famous Formulary and to sign it with such reservations as they thought proper. This act of lenity was known as 'The Peace of Clement IX.' Unhappily it was but of short duration.

This good and kindly Pope absolved the Jews from taking part in the Carnival races. The hateful and degrading foot-race of Jewish elders, instituted in 1468 by Paul II., was now commuted for a tax of 390 *scudi* to be spent on prizes for the horse-races.

During the reign of Clement the Turks made a determined attack upon the island of Crete, which had long been tributary to Venice. This great island was always considered as an outpost of Christendom; but the crusading spirit of the earlier ages had passed away, and none could be found to join the Pope and Venice in defending it. The disasters which befell the Christian army deeply affected the mind of Clement. He foresaw that Crete must inevitably fall into Turkish hands, which event happened in the following

year (1670), and it may be said that he died in consequence.

Clement IX. passed away beloved and revered by all. His favourite medals express his mind. 'The Lord is my Portion,' and 'I have given you an example,' are the words inscribed upon them, and it may be truly said that according to his light he did follow the example of Christ.

Another medal shows the pelican in her piety feeding her young with blood drawn from her own breast, and bears the words, 'Kind [Clemens] to others, not to himself.' The medal commemorating the Beatification of St. Rose of Lima has for its inscription, 'The Indian Rose gave forth a sweet scent.' Clement was elected on the Day of St. Silverius—a Pope of the sixth century who suffered imprisonment and martyrdom for resisting the heretical views of the Empress Theodora. A medal tells us that Clement set before himself as an example the constancy of Silverius to the truth.

CHAPTER XXIII

CLEMENT X., INNOCENT XI., AND ALEXANDER VIII.
(1670-1691)

AFTER a long Conclave of nearly five months the aged Cardinal Altieri was chosen under the name of CLEMENT X. The new Pope came of a noble Roman family, but was so aged and infirm, being already in his seventy-ninth year, that the management of affairs rested almost entirely in the hands of his adopted nephew, the Cardinal Paluzzo degli Albertoni, who married the Pope's niece and assumed the name of Altieri.

As Innocent X. and Alexander VII., so also Clement X. was decidedly on the side of Spain, and in consequence Louis XIV. avenged himself by continual encroachments on the Papal authority in France. But the Pope became increasingly infirm and averse to business; he gave less and less attention to the affairs of State, merely signing the papers which were brought to him without caring to examine their contents. It was said at Rome: 'The Pontiff's business is to bless and

consecrate—that of Cardinal Altieri is to reign and govern.’

Very little worthy of note happened during this reign ; yet we must not omit to notice that Clement X. was the first Pope who began to take any care of that grandest of all ruins—the Colosseum at Rome.

For centuries the Popes had used the remains of this noble building as a quarry of stone and marble for their own uses, till Sixtus V., in 1585, stopped the destruction, and tried to utilize the building as a woollen manufactory. The idea proved impracticable, and the Colosseum became an area for fairs. In 1671 Cardinal Altieri in the Pope’s name gave permission to use the building for six years for bull-fights. The proposition raised a great outcry, and Carlo Tommasi wrote a powerful pamphlet on the sacredness of a spot where so many early Christian martyrs had perished, and inveighed against the profaneness of using it for any such barbarous purpose. This so affected the mind of the Pope that he rescinded the permission, and in the year of Jubilee, 1675, closed the lower arches, and consecrated the entire building to the memory of the martyrs.

An interesting medal of Clement X. represents the Pope receiving the Turkish flag from a kneeling soldier. It commemorates the Battle of

Chocsin, November 10, 1673. In the following year the King of Poland sent to the Pope the Turkish flags taken in this battle. Another medal, struck in 1671, records the canonization of five new Saints; they were St. Philip Benizi, St. Gaetan de Thiennes, St. Francis Borgia, St. Louis Bertrand, and St. Rose of Lima. Clement X. died in July, 1676, in the seventh year of his uneventful reign.

A very different Pope was now elected. Benedetto Odescalchi, a native of Como, had come to Rome in his twenty-fifth year, furnished only with his sword and pistols, and intending to engage in military service either at Rome or Naples. One of the Cardinals, however, persuaded the young man to embrace an ecclesiastical career, and so well did he acquit himself in each grade of his profession, and so high a reputation did he gain for ability and uprightness of purpose, that during the Conclave multitudes gathered beneath the porticos of St. Peter, shouting the name of Odescalchi into the ears of the assembled Cardinals. When his election under the name of INNOCENT XI. was announced, loud applause greeted the proclamation.

The Pope at once set to work to bring the Papal finances into a more satisfactory condition. Reckless extravagance and the enrichment of their

families by previous Popes threatened to cause a public bankruptcy, and that matters did not proceed to this extremity is greatly due to the reforms of Innocent XI. He refused to allow his nephew, Don Livio, to reside in the Vatican, he abolished many sinecures, and applied to the public service those revenues and offices which had usually been conferred on the Pope's kinsmen. Many other abuses were rectified, and the rate of interest paid on the State loans was reduced from 4 to 3 per cent.

These measures naturally called forth much discontent from those who had profited by the previous laxness. A memorial was presented to the Pope, complaining that by the reduction of the rate of interest many families had been ruined, that the Cardinals were impoverished by the loss of their usual privileges, that the poor were consequently deprived of alms, and all Rome was one great scene of misery. But Innocent remained firm, saying: 'I am not the master, but the administrator of the Holy See. When I became a Cardinal, I began to be poor; now that I am Pope, I shall be a beggar.'

In 1681 a remarkable book was published at Rome by a Spanish priest, Michael Molinos. This book, which attracted great attention, inculcated perfect calm and tranquillity of mind, so

that the soul should be removed from all earthly things and centred on God alone. The undoubted piety and fervour of Molinos procured him many disciples, but as the tendency of his teaching was to discredit the elaborate pomps and ceremonies which form so large a part of the Roman religious observance, the Jesuits soon raised a violent persecution against Molinos and his Quietist followers. At first the Pope was inclined to favour the new teaching, but yielding to the persuasion of the Jesuits he allowed Molinos to be thrown into prison. Although he made a solemn recantation, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from which he was only delivered by death in 1696. With reference to this persecution of the Quietists, Pasquin said : ‘Eh ! What must we do ? If we speak, to the galleys ; if we write, to the gallows ; if we keep quiet, to the Inquisition.’

It was not only at Rome that Innocent found trouble. For some time past Louis XIV. had resented the Spanish proclivities of the Popes, and had in consequence been encroaching on the Papal prerogatives in France. Particularly, Louis had asserted his claim to what was called the *Regale*—that is, the right to present to all bishoprics and abbeys, and to receive their revenues during a vacancy. Moreover, he had inflicted heavy military fines, called benefactions, on the clergy. The

Jansenists, who were much disliked by Louis, probably on account of their greater strictness of life, were the special objects of these heavy imports, and finding the burden intolerable they at last appealed to the Pope. Innocent did not love the Jansenists, but he espoused their cause as against Louis, and wrote to the King in no very gentle terms, 'to lend no ear to flatterers, and to refrain from touching any more property, or restraining the liberties of the Church, lest the wrath of God should visit him, and dry up the fountains of grace within his kingdom.'

This language threatened France with a terrible Interdict, for the only 'fountains of grace' known to the Pope were the services of the Roman Church. Louis at once answered the veiled threat of the Pope by convening an assembly of the French Bishops in 1682, who unanimously agreed to four propositions, which formed the basis of what are known as Gallican Opinions. They were to the effect that the authority of Councils was superior to that of the Popes, that the Pope has no right to interfere in temporal matters, and that even in matters of faith the Pope is not infallible, unless his decrees are confirmed and sanctioned by the Church.

There is no doubt that at this time Louis XIV. contemplated separation from Rome, and the

setting up of a national Gallican Church under a Patriarch at Paris. Innocent, however, would not give way. He had yet a weapon which has of late years been employed against the French Republic. Louis might nominate Bishops, but not one of them could exercise episcopal functions unless consecrated by Papal authority. Thus it came to pass that no less than thirty-five French Bishops, who were in possession of the temporalities of their Sees, were unable to officiate episcopally in them.

Yet another difficulty arose between the Pope and the French King. For a long time past foreign Ambassadors at Rome had claimed the right of sanctuary for their palaces and the houses occupied by their suites. These rights, which corresponded to the modern capitulations in Turkish lands, were often greatly abused. The French Ambassador, the Marquis de Lavardin, entered Rome with 1,000 men-at-arms, all of whom were to be considered sacred as forming part of his retinue. But Innocent was not to be cowed. 'They come with horses and chariots,' he said, 'but we will walk in the Name of the Lord.' He even laid the Church of St. Louis at Rome, which was used by the French Ambassador, under a solemn Interdict, and for a year and a half refused to grant Lavardin a single audience.

On his side Louis XIV. laid hands on the territory of Avignon, which still belonged to the Roman See, and even imprisoned the Papal Nuncio. At the same time, to show that he was still attached to the Roman faith, he carried out in October, 1685, that fateful measure called The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, whereby hundreds of thousands of French Huguenots were forced into exile. So delighted was the Pope with this act that he forgave everything, and sent a letter to Louis applauding this 'illustrious proof of the King's inbred piety.'

Yet Innocent was in secret dread of the French power, and, it is believed, sent subsidies to the Prince of Orange to enable him to make head against the French. 'It was a strange complication,' says the historian Von Ranke, 'for it is undeniable that Innocent XI. allied himself with Protestant schemes which resulted in the final establishment of the Protestant religion in England.'

In the midst of all these plans and contentions the life and reign of Innocent XI. came to a close on August 6, 1689, the very year in which William and Mary were crowned as sovereigns of England.

On the death of Innocent XI., Cardinal Ottoni, a learned Venetian, who had been the

chief administrator in the last reign, was elected Pope as ALEXANDER VIII. He was already eighty years old, and his reign only lasted for two years. He had a fine manly face with a full patriarchal beard. Louis XIV. at once approached the new Pope with concessions, giving back Avignon and its territory, and at the same time ordering the new Ambassador at Rome to waive the right of asylum. Alexander on his part gave way to some extent on the question of the 'Regale,' but adhered firmly to all the spiritual claims of his predecessor. He proclaimed the Gallican decrees of 1682 to be null and void, and declared that he thought of them 'day and night with bitterness of heart, lifting his eyes to Heaven with tears and sighs.'

Alexander VIII. was somewhat over-indulgent to his family, and they rewarded him by erecting a tomb in St. Peter's of quite unusual magnificence. Costly marble, alabaster, and gilding were lavishly expended on it, so that the value of the materials employed might compensate for the worthlessness of the design.

CHAPTER XXIV

INNOCENT XII. AND CLEMENT XI. (1691-1721)

AFTER the early death of Alexander VIII. the French party in the Conclave made a great effort to secure the election of a Pontiff who would be less hostile to the Gallican views of Louis XIV. Such a Pope they hoped to have found in the gentle and peace-loving Cardinal Antonio Pignatelli, Archbishop of Naples, who was elected under the title of INNOCENT XII.

When, however, the French King asked the Pope to institute the Bishops whom he had nominated to the vacant Sees, Innocent firmly refused to do so until the clergy of France entirely submitted to the Papal authority. This they eventually did. 'Casting ourselves,' they said, 'at the feet of your Holiness, we profess our unspeakable grief at what has been done,' and so saying they abandoned the decrees of 1682 as null and void. Louis himself, who was now embarrassed with political entanglements, wrote also to the Pope retracting his edict upholding the

four Gallican articles. Thus the Roman Pontiff once more established his claim to absolute ecclesiastical monarchy even though opposed by the most powerful sovereign of his day.

The attention of Innocent XII. was next engaged by the controversy which arose between the eloquent and ambitious prelate Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, and the amiable and revered Archbishop of Cambray, De la Mothe Fénelon. The latter had been deeply impressed by the Quietist writings of Madame Guyon and others, and had himself written a book called 'An Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints concerning the Interior Life.' In this he adopted the views of Madame Guyon—that our love of God should be pure and disinterested and not prompted by any hope of future reward, and that 'communion with God is never perfect except when it escapes from the formality of words.'

Bossuet, who was in great favour both at Versailles and at Rome, and had the title of 'The Eagle of Meaux,' pounced down upon these propositions and denounced them as 'monstrous and diabolical.' He so wrought upon Louis that Madame Guyon was confined in the Bastille, and the Pope was asked to examine the treatise of Fénelon. The Congregation appointed to consider it declared the book unsound, and branded

as false no less than twenty-three propositions found in it. Innocent thereupon condemned the book by a public Brief in 1699, but refrained from naming the author. Fénelon read the Brief himself from his pulpit at Cambrai, and declared his own submission, but was ordered by the King to keep within the limits of his diocese and to appear no longer at Court.

Innocent XII. was undoubtedly one of the best Popes of his time. He was an earnest reformer, and issued a Bull to put an end to nepotism for ever. By this Bull it was enacted that the benefices and Church revenues henceforth to be bestowed on any kinsman of a Pope should never exceed 12,000 *scudi*. The Bull was hotly opposed by many of the Cardinals, but they were compelled to sign it one by one, though in many cases with extreme reluctance. Innocent XII. also abolished the sale of appointments and dismissed most of the private secretaries, paying back 1,016,070 *scudi* which had been received for these offices. 'In this way,' says the biographer, 'the Pope deprived gold of its power, and made it once more possible for virtue to attain to the highest places.'

Innocent XII. devoted much of his time and thought to the poor and needy. He converted the ancient Lateran Palace into a great hospital and almshouse. The medal which records this

deed has for its inscription, 'Bring the needy and outcasts into thy house' (Isa. lviii. 7, Vulg. Vers.). Another medal tells us of his missionary zeal, and represents the Pope giving a cross to the missionaries with the words, 'Tell it out among the nations.' He also spent large sums on the College of the Propaganda, and in 1697 (the date of the last medal) he sent out four missionaries to Ethiopia.

Innocent XII. died at an advanced age on September 27, 1700, universally beloved by all good men, though hated and reviled by those whom he sought to reform, and whose self-seeking covetousness he endeavoured to repress.

Gianfrancesco Albani, entitled CLEMENT XI., was the unanimous choice of the next Conclave. He was a true representative of the Court of Rome, in which he had been brought up from early youth. Courteous and bland in demeanour, cautious and reticent in character, yet not without real merit and talent, he was thought the most suitable of the Cardinals for the difficult times which were approaching. Yet he himself desired not the proffered honour. For three days he resisted the tears and entreaties of the Cardinals who besought him not to decline the task. At last he yielded; but his earliest medal, which represents

PLATE VI.



CLEMENT XI.

The Pope receives the Popedom as a heavy Cross. The text quoted is Isa. ix. 6,

The Government shall be upon His Shoulder.'



BENEDICT XIII.

Christ washes Peter's feet.

I, your Lord and Master, have given you an Example.

Christ bowed beneath a heavy cross with the words, 'The government shall be upon his shoulders,' was intended to express the feeling with which he undertook the terribly responsible office.

Clement XI. wore no beard. His clean-shaven churchman's face announces that a new era has begun with a new century. It was most unfavourable to the Papacy. The rise and growth of a new philosophy utterly foreign to Roman doctrines, which may be called the Second Renaissance, led gradually on to the teachings of Voltaire and Rousseau, culminating in the terrible catastrophe of the French Revolution. The power and prestige of the Popes steadily declined, so that at the close of this period two successive Popes became prisoners in captivity in France.

Clement never considered himself gifted with infallible wisdom. On the contrary, he said that as Cardinal he had known how to advise others, but as Pope he knew not how to guide himself. In the difficult position which now arose touching the Spanish succession, Clement unfortunately allied himself with the losing side. He failed to see that the fortunes of Louis XIV. were beginning to wane; so he adopted the cause of the French candidate, Philip V., and even supported him by subsidies raised on ecclesiastical property

in Spain. But the great victories of Marlborough at Ramillies and Blenheim had entirely altered the situation, and the Imperial troops threatened an invasion of the states and city of Rome. The Pope hesitated till the last moment, and literally at the eleventh hour of the evening of the day appointed for his final decision, signed with trembling hand and stricken spirit the document acknowledging the Austrian Charles III. as King of Spain. The times were indeed changed. Protestant England had decided the fortunes of the Spanish monarchy, and the infallible Pope was compelled to yield to the dictation of the Northern Powers.

All through his career Clement was on the losing side. Sicily and Sardinia, long regarded as Papal fiefs, were assigned to new Sovereigns without his advice or consent being requested. Even the Duke of Savoy attained to Royal dignity and a large increase of territory in defiance of the opposition of the Pope. The Duchy of Parma was given by the Emperor to an Infante of Spain, and nothing remained for the Pope but to issue unavailing protests. The Venetian Envoy at Rome expressed his amazement at the hostile attitude of the Catholic Powers, 'who seemed bent,' he said, 'on stripping the Roman See of its rights and privileges.'

But though Clement XI. lost much temporal power, he was still able to make his spiritual authority felt. The strife between the Jesuits and the Jansenists again broke out. This time the flame was kindled by the publication of a French version of the New Testament with Annotations, called '*Réflexions Morales*,' by a French theologian, Pasquier Quesnel.

In these Reflections were again found the doctrines of grace put forward by Jansenius, and the value of the Holy Scriptures, as a book intended by God for all Christians, was set forth in moving language: 'To take the New Testament out of the hands of Christians, or to keep it shut against them, is to close Christ's mouth against them.' Again: 'To forbid Christians the reading of the Holy Scriptures, especially the Gospels, is to forbid the use of light to the children of light, and to make them undergo a sort of excommunication.'

At first Clement had himself read Quesnel's book with delight, and had said to the Abbé Renaudet, a learned Frenchman who found him reading it, 'Here is a most excellent book! We have no one at Rome who is capable of writing in this manner; I wish I could engage the author to reside here.'

But the Jesuits were more keen in scenting out

heresy than the Pope. They discovered 101 heretical statements in the book, and persuaded Louis XIV. to ask the Pope to condemn them. Clement's own confessor, Father Tellier, S.J., urged him to the same course. At length, in 1713, the Pope issued the celebrated Bull 'Unigenitus,' which in broad and sweeping terms condemned the whole of the 101 propositions as 'false, captious, shocking, offensive to pious ears, ill-sounding, pernicious, injurious to the Church, blasphemous and heretical, and such as have often been condemned.' By this fateful measure a final and irreparable breach was made with Protestant doctrines, and all hope of any possible reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants was extinguished.

Meanwhile Louis XIV. had been persuaded to order the total destruction of Port Royal. The Archbishop of Paris, De Noailles, with great reluctance gave the necessary instructions for carrying out the royal command. The good and pious ladies of Port Royal were all driven from their much-loved home. The walls of the Abbey were levelled to the ground, and the bodies of the deceased were disinterred with revolting indecency, and cast into a common pit.

Yet the Jesuits did not have their own way in everything. Clement XI. was sincerely interested

in missions to the heathen. One of his medals represents a fleet carrying forth the missionaries, though sad to say the Virgin is seen giving her rosary to the converts, with the words, 'The help of Christians.' The Dominicans and Franciscans had long been asserting that the great apparent success of the Jesuits in China was largely due to unworthy tricks and concessions to heathenism. They now at last induced Clement to examine these charges, and by a Bull to forbid the Chinese converts to pay idolatrous adoration to their deceased ancestors and to their law-giver, Confucius. In consequence of this exposure of their methods the Jesuits greatly declined in the estimation of all honest men.

Nothing more need be said concerning this long Pontificate, except to mention the canonization of Pope Pius V., the only Pope during the last five centuries who has received that honour. Clement XI. died in 1721. He was diligent in his religious duties, frequent in his visits to churches and hospitals, prudent and circumspect in his conduct, but unfortunate in his decisions.

CHAPTER XXV

INNOCENT XIII., BENEDICT XIII., AND CLEMENT XII.
(1721-1740)

THE dependent state of the Papacy was clearly shown at the next election. Cardinal Paulucci was at first proposed as Pope, but the Imperial Ambassador said that his master would never acknowledge Paulucci, and recommended Cardinal Conti. The obsequious Conclave thereupon elected the very aged Michael Angelo Conti, who took the name of INNOCENT XIII.

The new Pope was in his eightieth year and very feeble, but he seems to have expected miraculous aid from his patron, the Archangel Michael, whose name he bore. Several medals of Innocent show the figure of Religion seated in heaven, while the Archangel drives out Satan with the words, 'Thou wilt renew the face of the earth.'

But it was not to be. This short and uneventful reign lasted less than three years. Innocent XIII. died in 1724, and was buried in St. Peter's, but no monument was erected to his memory.

The Cardinal Vincenzo Maria Orsini was next raised to the Chair of Peter under the name of BENEDICT XIII. He was a Neapolitan by birth, eldest son of Ferdinand Orsini, Duke of Gravina. Though born to great estate, he early renounced his birthright, and became a Dominican monk. In consideration of his noble descent and exemplary life, he was made Cardinal by Clement X., and appointed Archbishop of Benevento.

It was with the utmost difficulty that Benedict was induced to accept the tiara. Like his predecessor, Clement XI., he represented the Papal crown as a cross heavy to be borne. Being already in his seventy-sixth year and utterly unacquainted with State affairs, he said that it was too late for him to become conversant with them. He was right. Although as Pope he gave himself heart and soul to the business of the State, and although he resolutely refused to give power and wealth to his family, he fell into the hands of favourites whom he unwisely judged to be worthy of his confidence. This was especially the case with a certain Nicholas Coscia, a man of low descent but of some talent, whom he raised to the Cardinalate, and to whom he entrusted all outward affairs. The Pope himself spent his time in visiting the hospitals and in works of charity towards the poor, and in forming im-

practicable schemes for uniting all Christian sects and Churches into one Faith.

As a Dominican Benedict XIII. was naturally not favourable to the Jesuits, and though he renewed the Bull 'Unigenitus,' it was in terms that showed sympathy with, rather than condemnation of, the Jansenists. It was the great joy of his life that the aged Cardinal De Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, consented on these terms to sign the Formulary, and so end the long-standing Gallican quarrel.

Benedict XIII. was remarkable for the austerity of his life, and the purity of his morals. He called the poor his nephews and relations, and ordered the doors of the Vatican to be always open to them. He fixed the expenses of his own table at eight *baiocchi* (about sixpence) per day, for he drank no wine, and lived only upon vegetables. In the hospitals he often gave medicine with his own hand to the sick, and would kneel down by the dying, and if possible remain praying with them till they expired. He laid aside all pomp and show, and in accordance with his austere views forbade the clergy to wear any longer the fashionable wigs called perukes. Often in the evening he might be seen walking out with only one attendant to visit and minister to some sick friend.

One of his medals bears a full-blown rose—the emblem of the Orsini family—with the words, ‘From the Dew of Heaven.’ Another medal celebrates the canonization of St. John Nepomacene, whom the Jesuits chose as the patron saint of Bohemia to displace the memory of John Hus. The history of this saint, who is said to have died for refusing to betray the secrets of the confessional, is mostly fictitious ; but even to this day Bohemian peasants may be seen praying before an old image, which is really that of John Hus altered to suit the saint of the Jesuit legend.

Benedict XIII. died on February 21, 1730, and was buried in the Church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. His monument portrays him as an aged man with a good face but of a monkish type. He is represented in fervent prayer, as though he had fallen on his knees after preaching his last sermon. As regards his private life he ranks among the best Popes.

The next Conclave was unusually protracted by political intrigues and party contests. After five months the Albani section of Cardinals, following the old tradition of the Papal rhythm, elected Lawrence Corsini, a native of Florence, under the name of CLEMENT XII.

The new Pope at once called the late favourite,

Cardinal Coscia, and his employés to give an account of their administration. A special Congregation was appointed to try them, who found that they had greatly abused the confidence of the good old Pope Benedict, and had defrauded the public treasury of immense sums, which they were now forced to make good. Coscia and his friends were reduced to beggary, but most of the money found its way into the hands of the nephews and relations of Benedict's successor.

The Papacy had now lost all influence in Europe. It was less considered than many a third-rate Power, and the Pope became a mere creature of the Bourbons. Clement was compelled to see the Duchy of Parma pass wholly out of the Pope's hands. Even the investiture of Naples and Sicily was given to the new Duke of Parma and Placentia. He was also obliged, greatly against his will, to confirm Don Lewis in the Archbishopric of Toledo, and to nominate him as Cardinal though but eight years of age.

Clement XIII. much improved the Vatican library by presenting it with a collection of rare and valuable books. He was the last Pope who was buried in the Lateran, where he had built a magnificent chapel dedicated to St. Andrew Corsini. His monument is very gorgeous. A Roman bath of the time of Agrippa forms his sarcophagus.

It is of the most precious porphyry, and was removed by Clement from the Pantheon. Above it, between two allegorical figures, stands the colossal bronze statue of the Pope with gilded robes and tiara. The splendour of the monument is in direct contrast with the insignificance of his reign.

CHAPTER XXVI

BENEDICT XIV. AND CLEMENT XIII. (1740-1769)

CLEMENT XII. was succeeded in 1740 by BENEDICT XIV. The election of this Pope, whose name was Prospero Lambertini, was so entirely unexpected that it was attributed in a very special manner to the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

Benedict XIV. was one of the most learned of the Popes. He had spent the greater part of his life in studying the canon law. He was also the author of many important works, among which may be mentioned his treatise 'On the Sacrifice of the Mass.' In another book, 'Concerning the Feasts of the Blessed Mary the Virgin,' he defends the story of the gift of the Scapular to the Carmelite Simon Stock, but the defence is made with a certain degree of timidity and reserve.

Benedict XIV. was a man of untainted character, and from the very beginning of his Pontificate began the Herculean task of cleansing the Church and Court of Rome from many crying abuses.

He diminished the excessive number of religious festivals, and abolished some vain and senseless ceremonies, and showed marked disapproval of some of the grosser superstitions and pious frauds which had been countenanced by his predecessors. But reform has never been popular at Rome. The multitude, who always from the days of the Cæsars loved fêtes and processions and to eat the bread of idleness, never liked reforming Popes, and gave to Benedict the odious title of 'the Protestant Pope.'

Benedict was remarkable for his affable manners, his good-humoured jocularities, and Bolognese mother-wit. Often he would rise from his desk, and whisper into the ear of some attendant Cardinal some merry fancy which had occurred to him, and would then return to his writing enjoying the mirth which his facetiousness had produced.

The Pope was pre-eminently a peacemaker. With great wisdom he concluded Concordats with Spain, Portugal, and Naples. His clear mind saw that the extreme Papal pretensions could no longer be maintained, and he prudently relinquished the right of appointment to foreign benefices, and suffered the clergy to be included in the public taxation. The revenues of the Holy See suffered much in consequence, but the King of Spain

granted an annual sum from the Spanish Treasury by way of compensation.

Justice, Equity, and Concord are frequently represented on the medals of Benedict XIV. By his disinterested conduct he secured a time of peace and plenty for the Roman States, which was long remembered as the last season of unalloyed peace and happiness which Rome enjoyed for many years to come. The Pope's kindly liberality was seen in many ways. Even the Jews, who had been restricted to trading in scrap-iron and old clothes, were now graciously allowed to sell new cloth.

One medal of Benedict XIV. is of special interest. It is to the memory of 'Maria Clementina, Queen of Britain.' This lady, whose name was M. Clementina Sobieski, was the daughter of the King of Poland and wife of James Stuart, 'the Old Pretender.' She died at Rome in 1735, and was buried in St. Peter's. Her magnificent tomb, begun by Clement XII., was completed by Benedict XIV. in the third year of his reign.

It is greatly due to this Pope that the ruins of the Colosseum have been preserved to the present day. The arches were cleared from the robbers and bad characters by whom they were haunted. The altars of Clement XI. were repaired : a large cross was erected in the centre, and the whole arena consecrated to the memory of the early

PLATE VII.



BENEDICT XIV.

The Tomb of M. Clem. (Sobieski),
Queen of Britain.



THE LIBERALITY OF CLEMENT XIII.

Christian martyrs. From this time every care has been taken to preserve what remains of the building, and to repair the ravages of time.

We have already seen how the Jesuits completely triumphed over their Jansenist antagonists in France. The time of their own visitation was now fast approaching. Benedict XIV. was by no means in favour of their worldly schemes or their missionary methods. In several Bulls* he condemned the lucrative commercial transactions in which the missionaries of Rome too often engage, and in one of these he specified the Jesuits by name, forbidding them 'to make slaves of the Indians, to sell them, barter, or give them away, to separate them from their wives and children, to rob them of their property, or transport them from their native soil.'

Almost at the same time there arose certain eminent statesmen—Choiseul in France, Squillace in Spain, Tanucci in Naples, and above all, Carvalho, Marquis de Pombal in Portugal—who made it their chief aim to put down the exorbitant pretensions of Rome. The Jesuits had tried all means to effect the downfall of Pombal, and when the latter rose to the height of power in Portugal, he demanded from the Pope a complete reform of

* Especially those known as *Ex quo singulare* and *Omnium Sollicitudo*.

the Company. Benedict, nothing loth, appointed Cardinal Saldanha to conduct the visitation of the Jesuits in Portugal. After a short time the Cardinal issued a decree severely reprobating their trading pursuits, and empowering the royal authorities to confiscate their merchandise.

The Company had meanwhile been attacked on similar grounds in France. A great mercantile house in Martinique, with which Father Lavallette, S.J., was connected, failed, and involved many French traders in its ruin. Had Benedict XIV. lived longer, he would have probably subjected the Jesuit Order to a searching and complete reform, but at the critical moment he expired.

The Company of Jesus were now thoroughly frightened. Guided by their very able 'General' Ricci, they spared neither pains nor money at the next Conclave to secure a Pope more favourable to their interests. They succeeded in their efforts, and their nominee, Cardinal Rezzonico, was elected as CLEMENT XIII. He at once gave a signal mark of his devotion to the Jesuit Order by appointing as Secretary of State Cardinal Torrigiani, cousin of the Jesuit 'General.'

Clement XIII. was a man of upright character and religious spirit. His liberality to the poor was unbounded. One of his earliest medals represents Charity pouring forth gold coins from a

cornucopia, with the words 'He gave to the poor.' He was, however, depressed by an excessive self-distrust, which led him to defer too much to the opinions of others. For the Jesuits he professed the greatest admiration, considering them to be the principal supporters and most faithful servants of the Holy See. Influenced by them, he allowed the Festival of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, to which the Jesuits have always professed a very particular devotion.

Meanwhile the Company grew more and more into disfavour in Portugal. It was clearly proved that in Paraguay the Fathers had secretly stirred up the natives to revolt against their sovereign, the King of Portugal. Hardly a ship arrived from America without bringing a couple of Jesuits who had been made prisoners for high treason. In their fury against the Marquis de Pombal, whose motto was 'Freedom of Portugal from the yoke of the Society of Jesus,' the Company proceeded to attack King Joseph himself. They charged him to answer before the judgment seat of God, and prophesied that his reign would end in the month of September, 1758.

Such prophecies too often led the way to their own fulfilment. On the night of September 2 three shots were fired at the King as he was returning to his palace. The King was wounded

in the arm, but not fatally. An investigation followed, which showed that several of the nobility were concerned in the plot, that some prominent Jesuit Fathers had been consulted as to the lawfulness of regicide, and that encouraged by their answers and by the general attitude of the Jesuits towards the King and the chief Minister, the conspirators had formed the design of murdering the King.

A terrible retribution followed. Ten noblemen were executed after fearful tortures, their dead bodies were burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Tagus ; their palaces were razed to the ground, and salt was strewed on the place where they stood. Then came the turn of their Jesuit advisers. Eleven of the most guilty were thrown into prison, and the rest confined to their houses. All their property, consisting of large sums of ready-money, with immense stores of sugar, cocoa, and vanilla, was confiscated to the State ; and the Portuguese Government, after sending the proofs of their guilt to Rome, applied to the Pope for his approval of all that had been done, and demanded that a Papal Brief should deliver the culprits for punishment to the secular tribunals.

Clement XIII., under the influence of Torregiani, sent back an evasive answer, extolling the Jesuits generally, and begging the King to use great moderation in dealing with them. At the

same time the Pope instructed the Nuncio at Lisbon not to yield in the smallest degree to the demands of the Portuguese Government.

Pombal, however, was not a man to be trifled with. A severe decree of the King banished all Jesuits from Portugal, and the Pope received with tears one shipload after another of the exiled Fathers. The most dangerous and guilty, to the number of over one hundred, were imprisoned for life on the rocky island of St. Julian, about three hours' sail from Lisbon. The Jesuits now implored the Pope to lay the whole kingdom under an Interdict ; but Clement did not dare to proceed to such extremities, for the King and his Minister were prepared in that case to set up an independent national Lusitanian Church.

This was not all. About this time some treacherous correspondence of the Jesuits in Spain was discovered threatening the throne of Charles III. Measures were taken to arrest the whole of the Spanish Jesuits, numbering about 6,000, at midnight of April 2, 1767, and in a few days they found themselves on board the ships which were to convey them to Rome. The 'General' Ricci fainted with consternation at the news, and the Pope wrote a beseeching letter to the King, imploring him to rescind the decree of banishment, and saying that there did not exist

a more useful or pious Society than the Jesuits. The Pope pleaded in vain. Charles refused to allow a single Jesuit to remain in his dominions, though he allowed the exiled Fathers a small pension for life.

Next, Louis XV. appealed to the Pope to reform the Jesuit Order ; but Clement replied in the memorable words of Ricci: 'Sint ut sunt, aut non sint' (They must be as they are, or must cease to exist). All foreign Jesuits were thereupon banished from France, and the French Jesuits were only allowed to remain as private citizens subject to the laws of France. Ferdinand IV. of Naples then followed suit, and expelled the Jesuits from the Two Sicilies, and even the young Duke of Parma was encouraged to take similar steps.

This last drop in the cup of Clement was more than he could bear. He issued a Bull of Condemnation against the Duke of Parma, declaring his decrees null and void, and excommunicating all who dared to execute them. But the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Neapolitan Governments all made common cause with Parma, and insisted on the withdrawal of the Bull. Clement refused to retract a word, and declared that the world should fall to pieces before he would abandon the Company of Jesus, who were the only true support of Christendom.

Thereupon the King of Naples seized the Papal

towns of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, while French troops took possession of Avignon and Venaissin. The Governments now demanded from the Pope the entire extinction of the Jesuits on pain of losing the whole of the Roman States.

Clement made one last appeal for help to the Empress Maria Theresa, whom he called his one remaining consolation upon earth, and whom he implored not to permit his old age to be oppressed by acts of violence. The Empress replied that she could not interfere with the State policy of other countries.

The spirit of Clement was now broken. He seemed stupefied by the greatness of the blow; but at last he resolved to summon a Consistory of the Cardinals to consider the matter of the suppression of the Jesuits. On the evening before the day fixed for the Consistory the Pope was seized with a convulsive fit, and expired on February 2, 1769, at the age of seventy-five.

The monument of Clement XIII. stands in St. Peter's. It is the first Papal monument in the modern style, and is one of the earliest works of the great sculptor Canova. The kneeling Pope is praying solemnly above a large sarcophagus. His impressive figure and striking countenance represent admirably the spirit of devout supplication.

CHAPTER XXVII

CLEMENT XIV. (1769-1774)

NEVER were the Roman Cardinals in a more difficult position than when they met for the next Conclave. The whole existence of the Roman Church as a world-wide institution was trembling in the balance. The great Catholic Powers were ready to revolt, and to set up national Churches unless their wishes were carried out. In this emergency the choice of the Cardinals fell upon the mildest, the most moderate, the best of all, Lorenzo Ganganelli, who took the name of CLEMENT XIV.

Clement XIV. was the son of a humble physician at Rimini, and was originally intended for the medical profession, but at the age of eighteen entered the Franciscan Order, and devoted himself to the study of theology. Especially did Clement delight in the Holy Scriptures and the doctrines of grace found therein. By some he was suspected of Jansenist leanings, and was known by all to be utterly

opposed to Jesuit methods and practices. He was one of the few Cardinals who had declared himself of opposite views to the late Pope, both as regards the affairs of the Jesuits and the treatment of the Duke of Parma.

Immediately on his accession Clement XIV. suppressed the Bull against the young Duke, and effected a reconciliation with him. He then took a bolder step, and ordered that the terrible Bull of Pius V. against heretics, known as '*In Cænâ Domini*,' should no longer be read before the congregations on Maundy Thursday. He also entered into friendly relations with the Courts of Spain and Portugal, and by many conciliatory measures restored peace between Church and State. One rock of offence yet remained, and on this point all the Bourbon Courts with whom the Austrian Government was in agreement remained immovable. They insisted upon the entire abolition of the Jesuit Order.

Clement begged to have time for deliberation. He dreaded the power of the Jesuits, and represented to the allied Governments that 'he could not suppress such a celebrated Order without having serious reasons to justify him in the eyes of the world and still more in the sight of God.' The Jesuits loudly boasted that their Order had the special sanction of the Council

of Trent, and that to suppress them would be to act in defiance of the decisions of former Popes. For three years Clement hesitated, and tried to bring about some reforms in the Order, and to reduce their power by closing their seminaries in Rome, Frascati, and Bologna. But the great Catholic Powers were not satisfied, and gave the Pope to understand that no reconciliation could be completed, nor would the occupied territories of Benevento and Avignon be restored until the Company was dissolved.

At last, after much painful deliberation, on July 21, 1773, Clement XIV. put forth the celebrated Bull of Suppression, '*Dominus ac Redemptor Noster.*' It was one of the most remarkable documents which ever bore the impress of the Fisherman's seal. The following are some of the words of the Papal decision :

'Inspired, as we trust, by the Divine Spirit ; impelled by the duty of restoring concord to the Church ; convinced that the Society of Jesus can no longer effect those purposes for which it was founded ; and moved by other reasons of prudence and State policy, which we retain concealed in our own breast, we do extirpate and abolish the Society of Jesus, its offices, houses, and institutions. . . . We in the plenitude of Apostolic power, abolish the said Society, suppress it, and

dissolve it, and do away with and abolish every one of their offices, services, and administrations, their houses, schools, colleges, hospitals, and all their plans for assembling, in whatever kingdom they may be situated, or in whatever province or dominion. We likewise abolish and do away with for ever their statutes, habits and customs, decrees and constitutions, even when sealed by oath or Apostolic constitution ; so that from this day henceforth the Society of Jesus no longer exists.'

As soon as the Brief was signed, instant measures were taken by the Pope to carry it into effect. On the night of August 16 the Corsican guards occupied all the gates of the Jesuit colleges. The inmates of each college were assembled, and a Papal commissary read to them the act of dissolution. The Jesuits were given three days to choose between entering secular life or living quietly in certain of their houses under the care of a secular priest. In either case they were required to abandon the habit of their Order and wear the lay clothing provided for them. Ricci, the 'General,' and some of his chief assistants were cast into prison, and all their churches, schools, and confessionals were handed over to the Capuchin friars.

Clement was fully aware that he was signing

his own death-warrant when he finally affixed his name to the Bull of Suppression. His own words were 'This Suppression will be my death'; but he added, 'If I had not already signed it, I would sign it now.'

For some time the Pope's apprehensions seemed unfounded. Only constant calumny and abuse was put forth. Clement was declared to be a sacrilegious heretic and blasphemer, who had obtained the tiara by bribery. It was boldly prophesied that the Pope himself and each of the four Sovereigns of France, Spain, Austria, and Naples, who had demanded the abolition of the Order, would meet with an early and sudden death. One night the letters P.S.S.V. were inscribed on the Vatican gates, and on the following day they were interpreted to mean 'Præsto sara sede vacante' (Soon will the Holy See be vacant). Soon afterwards, in spite of the vigilance of the sentinels, the letters I.S.S.S.V. appeared, which meant, 'In September the See will be vacant.'

It was only too true. The healthy and comparatively young Pontiff was seized with a mysterious disease. His strength rapidly declined. His throat was attacked with burning pains, and his voice became hoarse and hollow. All his usual serenity of manner left him, and he became restless and irritable. Poisons and daggers seemed

always before his mind. His sleep was troubled, and he would wake up with shrieks, 'Misericordia ! misericordia ! Compulsus feci' (Mercy ! mercy ! I was compelled to do it). For six months this slow torture endured, and then for a moment his intellect was unclouded. He was fully conscious that his doom was sealed. 'I go,' he said, 'to eternity, and *I know why.*' On September 22, 1774, his much-tried soul was released from its sufferings.

The horrible condition of the corpse made the usual lying-in-state quite impossible, and showed clearly that some slow but malignant poison had been at work. The question was and still is, Who did it? The Roman people did not hesitate to answer, 'The Jesuits have done this.'

In the long series of Papal medals none is more remarkable than that which relates to the suppression (*exauguratio*) of the Jesuits. On the obverse is the handsome and youthful face of the Pontiff; on the reverse, Christ, behind whom stand SS. Peter and Paul, is represented as banishing three Jesuit Fathers, who look back sorrowfully and reproachfully. Above are the words 'Depart from Me, all of you. I never knew you.' Beneath is quoted Psalm cxviii. 23, 'This is the Lord's doing : it is marvellous in our eyes.'

We may be allowed here to cite a portion of the

letter written by Joseph, afterwards the Emperor Joseph II. of Austria, to the Earl of Aranda, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and Grandee of Spain :

‘SIR,

‘Clement XIV. has by the suppression of the Order of the Jesuits gained an immortal name. He has blotted those sybils from the earth.

‘Before they were known in Germany, religion brought with it happiness to the nations ; they have degraded that hallowed Name, and made it an object of detestation and a cloak for their own covetousness and ambition.

‘The Council of the Loyolites have regarded the advancement of their own glory and the spreading of darkness over the earth as their grand work. Their intolerance brought on Germany the Thirty Years’ War. Their principles have robbed Emperors of crown and life, and it was they who wrote their own history in the blackest dye in connection with the Edict of Nantes.

‘The world knows too well what use they made of their influence, what claims they laid on the nations.

‘It is no secret that beside the great Clement, the Ministers of the Bourbons and Pombal of Spain assisted in putting them aside. Posterity will know how to value the labours of these men, and will erect altars to their memory.

PLATE VIII.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUIT ORDER, A.D. 1773.



CLEMENT XIV.

Christ, behind whom stand St. Peter and St. Paul, banishes three Jesuit Priests with the words: 'I never knew you. Depart from Me all of you.' Below is: 'In Memory of the Suppression of the Society of Jesus, MDCCCLXXIII.' —P. cxviii. 23 [Eng. Vers.].



PIUS VI.

The Pope receives the banished French Priests.

‘If it were possible for me to hate, I must hate the men who persecuted Fénelon, and who procured the Bull, “In Cænâ Domini.”

‘JOSEPH.’

Vienna,

July, 1773.

Clement XIV. was the best as well as the most vilified of Popes. His bold deed of suppressing the Jesuit Order was ‘the most remarkable, perhaps the only really substantial concession ever made by a Pope to the spirit of the age. He died execrated by the ultramontane party, but regretted by his subjects for his excellent administration. No Pope has better merited the title of a virtuous man, or has given a more perfect example of integrity, unselfishness, and aversion to nepotism.’

Such is the verdict of that judicious and learned writer, the late Dr. Richard Garnett, in the ‘*Encyclopædia Britannica*.’ Even more eulogistic is the ‘*Life of Clement XIV.*,’ by Father Theiner, who, moreover, remarks on the abstraction by his enemies of certain documents from the Vatican archives. His Pontificate was an exceptional episode in the history of the Papacy. It was the last attempt to reconcile the Popedom with secular governments. The beautiful monument of Clement XIV. by Canova is in the Church of the Santi Apostoli.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PIUS VI. (1775-1799)

THE simplicity of Clement XIV. had made him unpopular at Rome. The excitable people of Rome demanded shows and bread (*panem et circenses*) as much under the Popes as under the Cæsars; so public opinion called upon the Cardinals to elect a Pope who should gratify these desires. Yet it was necessary to satisfy the Courts of France and Spain that the new Pope would not reverse the policy of his predecessor.

After a Conclave of more than four months Cardinal Braschi was chosen. Perhaps a presentiment of coming trouble possessed him; for when the final vote was given in his favour he threw himself upon his knees, saying, 'Venerable Fathers, your Conclave is at an end; but how unhappy for me is the result!' His first medal, like those of Clement XI. and Benedict XIV., bore the figure of the Christ bowed beneath the burden of a heavy cross. The new Pope took the name of PIUS VI. At once the populace remembered the

old pasquinade, recollective of Tarquinius Sextus, Sextus Nero, and Alexander Sextus, the Borgia Pope, that Rome was always ruined under the Sextuses (*Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit*), and they augured ill for Pius Sextus. The Pope owed his election to the Anti-Jesuit party, but was believed to be secretly on the side of the Zelanti, as the favourers of the Company were called. He at once ordered the release of the aged 'General' Ricci, and it was thought welcomed the shelter given to the remnant of the Jesuits by the heretic Frederic II., of Prussia, and the orthodox Catherine II., Empress of Russia.

For a time all went well. Pius VI. began his reign in a brilliant fashion. Fond of pomp and splendour, munificent, stately, eloquent, and singularly handsome, with dignified manners and noble presence, he afforded the greatest possible contrast to his predecessor. His whole appearance indicated nobleness and grace. His was the ideal figure for the *Papa-Ré*, or Pope-King, as the Romans loved to call him. When he entered the Vatican in procession, he was greeted by the shouts of the admiring multitude. He was also by no means indisposed to bring the Papacy into harmony with the times, and if his lot had been cast in a quieter and less eventful period, he would have admirably discharged the high office of Pope.

In some respects the times of Leo X. seemed to return. Pius VI. added great treasures of ancient and modern art to those already possessed by Rome. He brought the Belvidere Apollo and the Laocoon from obscure corners, and placed them in positions worthy of their artistic merit. He built immense halls lined with jasper and mosaics for the due display of works of art, and made the Vatican the greatest museum, as it already was one of the greatest palaces in the world. Yet one at least of the works of Pius was displeasing to the conservative Romans. The two splendid horses, which stood in front of the Quirinal and gave their name to the Monte Cavallo, were turned to face the opposite direction. On the pedestal of one was inscribed 'Opus Phidiæ' (the work of Phidias). A placard was now placed by the witty Romans on the other pedestal, 'Opus Perfidiae Pii Sexti' (the work of the perfidy of Pius VI.).

The Jubilee of 1775 was one of the grandest ever held. Strangers flocked to Rome from all parts of the world to see the Pope with a golden hammer strike the Holy Door and enter in gorgeous state over its ruins into the vast basilica of St. Peter. The Czarevitch, the English Royal Dukes, the Sovereigns of Tuscany, Naples, and Sweden, and the Emperor Joseph II. visited Rome at this time.

One of the chief aims of the Pontiff was to drain the Pontine marshes, and vast sums were expended in the endeavour to make the Campagna more healthy. The result was not great. It remained for our own times to combat with success the deadly malaria by the simple expedient of planting the Australian eucalyptus-tree.

But the reign so auspiciously begun was soon to become troubled. The spirit of French philosophy was spreading far and wide throughout Europe, and this spirit was diametrically opposed to the claims of the Papacy. In 1780 the illustrious Maria Theresa died. Her son, Joseph II., gifted, diligent, benevolent, the most illustrious reformer of the age, succeeded to the Empire. In a letter to Voltaire Frederic the Great said: 'Joseph is an Emperor such as Germany has not had for a long time.' He was indeed, as he has been styled, the *avant-courier* of the French Revolution. He assailed the Papal jurisdiction throughout his vast dominions, forbade the execution of any Papal Bull, suppressed monasteries, put down superstitious practices, ordered a German translation of the Bible, and finally, by his famous Edict of Toleration (October, 1781) bestowed full liberty of worship on Protestants and members of the Greek Church, and made them capable of holding any office and dignity in the empire.

These reforms, so unexpected and so far-reaching, astonished all Europe and alarmed the Pope. After ineffectual negotiations Pius determined on taking the unprecedented course of going in person to Vienna. Most of the Cardinals were adverse to this step ; they did not wish to see the Pope a suppliant, and still more they feared he might be an unsuccessful suppliant.

Urged, however, by Austrian refugees, and relying on his own powers of persuasive eloquence, the Pope set out. His journey was one continual ovation. The Emperor received his august visitor with every mark of respect, and spared no observance of outward veneration. All ranks vied with each other to show honour to the Holy Father. The crush was so great to kiss the Pope's slipper that to lighten the trouble the Pope caused it to be carried round to many of the most distinguished houses in the city. But when the Easter festival arrived, and the master of ceremonies placed the Papal seat a step higher than the Emperor's, the latter absented himself from the ceremony, saying : ' Then the Pope can drive alone and sit alone in the Church.'

Both the Emperor and the Prime Minister Kaunitz positively refused to discuss matters of policy with the Pope, and Pius was obliged to return without in any way effecting his object.

The Emperor gave the Pope a diamond cross valued at £20,000, and accompanied His Holiness as far as Mariabrunn. A few hours after he suppressed the monastery in the place where he had said farewell. On the return of the Pope to Rome a remarkable medal was struck with the busts of the Pope and Emperor facing each other. On the reverse a hand with a pair of snuffers snuffs a candle placed on an altar between a chalice and the tiara with the words 'Emuncta Clarior' (brighter when snuffed). It seems to express the belief of Pius VI. that the trials of the Church would result in good.

The Duke of Tuscany, Peter Leopold, brother of Joseph II., soon began to imitate his Imperial brother. After many reforming measures, by which he got the reputation of being almost a Protestant, he assembled a Council of his own bishops and clergy at Pistoja in 1787. Against this synod Pius hurled an elaborate Bull.

Soon the Revolution broke out in France, and thence quickly spread to Holland, Belgium, and the Rhineland; and wherever the Revolution came, the Papal authority was lost. The Pope wrote to urge the French King to remain firm, entreating his 'dearest son in Christ, Louis, the most Christian King of the French,' to reject the *Constitution Civile*, by which the separation of

the Church of France from Rome was decreed. But the unhappy Louis XV. wavered, hesitated, and at last signed the fateful measure.

Thereupon, in the celebrated Brief 'Caritas' or April 13, 1792, Pius VI., in firm and dignified language, declared all acts of the constitutional Bishops and clergy null and void. 'In a word,' said the Pope, 'hold fast to us; for no man can be truly a member of Christ's Church, unless he be united to its visible Head and incorporated with the chair of St. Peter.'

This Brief produced an immense effect. Many who had sworn the constitutional oath to the Republic now recanted. Dreadful persecution followed, but many priests escaped to America and England, where they were received with great hospitality. About two thousand reached Rome, and a beautiful medal commemorates their reception by Pius VI., who assigned large sums for their maintenance in the convents and palaces where they were entertained.

The fiery flood of the Revolution still pursued its onward course, and at last invaded Italy. Napoleon crossed the Alps, and his marvellous victories laid all Italy at his feet. The helpless Pontiff after a most feeble resistance yielded to the conqueror, and in February, 1797, signed the peace of Tolentino. Napoleon was not so hostile

to the Pope as his government, and considering all things, the terms of the peace, though humiliating and entailing great sacrifices, were not so crushing as they might have been.

The Directory soon found an excuse for harsher measures. At the close of the year a riotous assemblage at Rome was headed by a young French General, named Duplot. A collision ensued with the Papal troops, and Duplot fell mortally wounded. Joseph Bonaparte, the French Ambassador, immediately demanded his passports, and the French army, under Berthier, encamped beneath the walls of Rome. A few days later, on February 10, 1798, the Castle of St. Angelo was occupied. A deputation of citizens waited upon Berthier, and begged him to set up a Roman Republic. Accordingly the Pope was forcibly removed from the Vatican and subjected to the utmost indignity. Even the rings which he wore were rudely torn from his fingers. He was in his eighty-first year, and begged that he might be allowed to die in his own palace. He was told that he could die equally well anywhere, and was transported first to Siena and then to Cortosa near Florence. In the spring of 1799, on the outbreak of fresh hostilities between Austria and France, the aged Pope was hurried across the Alps to Valence in Dauphiny. He arrived in a state of

great exhaustion from which he never rallied, and died, attended only by a single priest, on August 29, 1799.

His heart was buried at Valence; and his body in a vault of the Vatican. His statue by Canova kneels on the floor of the Confessional at St. Peter's. Thus the last two Popes of the eighteenth century, Clement XIV. and Pius VI., both met with a tragic fate. The doom of the Papacy seemed sealed for ever.

CHAPTER XXIX

PIUS VII. (1800-1823)

AT the death of Pius VI. the French forces in Italy sustained a temporary check. It was therefore possible for thirty-five Cardinals to assemble in Conclave in the Church of San Giorgio at Venice. Shortly before his death Pius VI. had made preparations for all eventualities by a Bull, with special regulations authorizing the senior Cardinal to hold the Conclave in whatever city might seem most convenient. After a long and anxious deliberation, Barnabas Chiaramonti was chosen Pope by the name of Pius VII.

The new Pontiff was of gentle disposition. He has been named by Châteaubriand 'the true Pope of tribulation.' Though conscientious, he was by no means fanatical or tenacious of his rights, and was more inclined to submit quietly to his fate than Pius VI. Moreover, he seemed to be fascinated by Napoleon, and welcomed his advances for an arrangement whereby the Roman Catholic religion might be restored in France. The con-

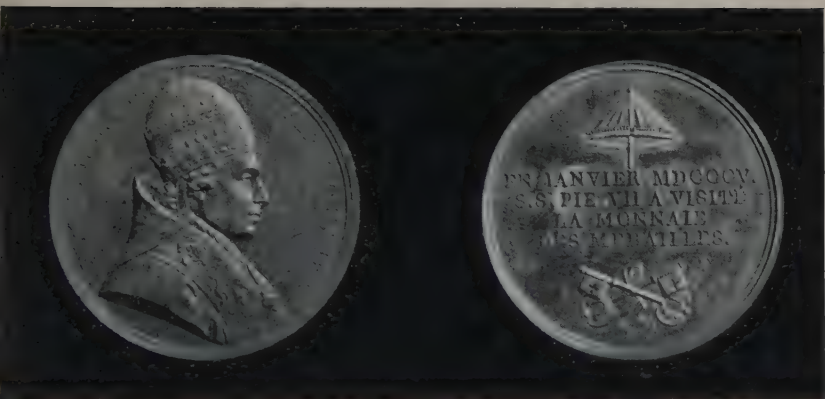
ditions were hard, and the Pope felt them to be so; but he was ready to yield everything, rejoicing 'that the churches were purified from profanation, the altars reared again, shepherds placed over the people, and erring souls reconciled to God. How many motives,' he exclaimed, 'for joy and thankfulness!'

The new Concordat was finally signed in 1801. The Pope assented to the alienation of the Church property valued at 400 millions of francs in real estate, and made over to the Government the nomination of Bishops without right of Papal veto. All monasteries were suppressed, and the number of Sees greatly reduced. The clergy were made salaried officers of the State, and by the organic articles added by Napoleon, the Church was entirely subordinated to the Civil Government.

As soon as the Church was restored in France, Napoleon requested the Pope to come to Paris to bless the new dynasty, and to crown him Pontifically as the new Charlemagne in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. It was an unheard of request, but the Pope could refuse nothing to Napoleon, and accordingly proceeded to Paris in November, 1804. Napoleon met the Pope at Fontainebleau, where they rested for a few days. On arriving at Paris the Pope was received with every mark of respect, and was lodged in magnificent apartments

PLATE IX.

MEDAL OF PIUS VII. STRUCK AT PARIS.



PIUS VII.

GUEST OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

In January, 1805, His Holiness Pius VII.
visited the French Mint.



LEO XII.

The Pope, attended by Papal Guards,
visits the Hospitals.

in the Tuileries. On December 2 the coronation took place with the greatest possible splendour. The Pope offered a prayer, and anointed the head of the monarch, but Napoleon, without waiting for the rest of the ceremony, seized the Imperial crown and placed it upon his own head, and then took the crown of the Empress and placed it upon the head of Josephine. Several medals were struck in honour of the event. Some have French inscriptions, and came from the Paris mint. One has for its legend, 'Pius VII., P.M., Guest of the Emperor Napoleon.'

The Pope hoped in return for this visit to obtain the restoration of some of the Papal States. He was soon undeceived. The Emperor said in answer to his request: 'France has dearly purchased the power she enjoys. We cannot sever anything from the Empire which is the outcome of years of bloody combats. You are Sovereign of Rome, but I am its Emperor.'

Pius VII. returned to Italy a wiser and a sadder man. In vain he protested that the Roman Pontiff owed allegiance to no earthly superior. Napoleon wrote: 'I do not intend the Court of Rome to mix any more in politics. The Pope shall be my vassal.'

In 1805 the Battle of Austerlitz put an end to the Holy Roman Empire, and Napoleon claimed

the power and dignity of the ancient Cæsars. As the new Charlemagne, he sought to be master of the Pope. He assumed that, seeing that the Papal States were the donation of Charles the Great, he as his successor was at liberty to resume authority over them, and thus insisted that the Pope should consent to be guided in all matters of external policy by the French Government, and in particular that he should act in unison with the Continental League for excluding British manufactures from his territories. 'The Pope,' said Napoleon, 'is too powerful. Priests are not made to govern. To the Court of Rome I will always be Charlemagne.'

Pius VII. was of a gentle and yielding nature, but there were limits even to his meekness. He refused thus to abdicate his temporal power. Napoleon replied with yet further demands. He claimed the right to nominate a third of the Cardinals, and in 1808 annexed the marches to France. Pius again protested, and excommunicated the officers who were carrying out the annexation. Thereupon Napoleon entirely abolished the political Popedom, and reduced the Pope to the rank of a French subject. The Pope answered by a Bull of Excommunication, which laid under the ban 'the spoliators of the Church,' though he refrained from naming the Emperor.

Thereupon the French troops under General Radet occupied Rome. The tricolour flag floated on the Castle of St. Angelo, and the Pope was carried forcibly as prisoner first to Savona and then to Fontainebleau. By a decree of the French Senate the whole of the Papal States were annexed, and became the departments of the Tiber and Trasimene.

Throughout Europe public opinion revolted against the high-handed treatment of a defenceless old man ; but as year after year passed at Fontainebleau, and no help appeared in any quarter, the Pope, unnerved by sufferings, was at last prevailed upon by Napoleon to sign the Concordat of 1813. By this Pius VII. agreed to the annexation decree of the Senate, and consented to reside permanently at Avignon as a pensioner of France and the virtual prisoner of the Emperor.

But a change was at hand. The victories of Wellington in the Peninsula, the retreat from Moscow, and the overthrow at Leipzig brought the power of Napoleon to an end. Eager to lessen some of his difficulties, the Emperor released the Pope and restored to him his dominions. After fourteen long years of captivity Pius began his slow journey to Italy. When he drew near to the city of Rome on May 23, 1814, a great pro-

cession met him. Bands of young girls carrying gilded palm-boughs went before him chanting Hosanna to the Pope-King.

One of the first acts of the restored Pontiff was to issue a Bull, called '*Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*,' by which the Jesuits were recalled and reinstated in all their former privileges, while the Catholic Powers were earnestly invited to follow the Pope's example. Pius himself said Mass before the altar of Ignatius Loyola, and in every way supported the Order, and helped them to recover their lost position.

After the restoration of the Papal States to the Pope a complete reaction set in. It was, as Pius VII. himself acknowledged, largely due to the exertions of sovereigns, 'who do not belong to the Catholic Church,' that he had recovered his lost power. Yet that power was used to suppress and crush every liberal and Protestant tendency. The Pope and his chief Minister of State, Cardinal Consalvi, became entirely subservient to Jesuit influence. The French legal code was abolished, and the old Papal laws put in force. The Inquisition was again set up, and the laity were excluded from all State offices. Even the Jews, who had been allowed liberty to dwell in the city and engage in trade during the French occupation, were again shut up in the Ghetto and

afflicted with their old disabilities. The Government became despotic, ecclesiastical, mediæval.

Pius VII. was now seen to be an extreme Ultramontanist. He awarded an Indulgence of sixty days to all the faithful who invoked the very holy Heart of Mary. He was the avowed enemy of all Bible Societies. In his Bull of 1816 he professed to be shocked by the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, which he called 'a most empty device by which the very foundations of religion are undermined . . . for it is evident that the Holy Scriptures, when circulated in the vulgar tongue, have through the temerity of man produced more harm than good.' Again, in 1819, he exhorted the Irish Bishops to prevent the Bible from entering the schools, saying that the children would thereby be 'infected with the fatal poison of depraved doctrines.'

Yet there was much that was lovable in the character of Pius VII., and in nothing was this more clearly seen than in his treatment of the fallen family of Napoleon. It was at Rome that Madame Latitia, the mother of the Emperor, and his brothers Lucien, Louis, and Jerome found an asylum and honourable maintenance for many years ; while the touching letter addressed to the State Secretary, Cardinal Consalvi, which we quote from 'The Gallican Church,' by Jervis, is

a yet further proof of his tenderhearted forbearance and forgiveness. It runs as follows :

‘ We are informed by the family of the Emperor Napoleon [through Cardinal Fesch] that the rock of St. Helena is deadly, and that the poor exile feels himself wasting away at every moment. We have heard these tidings with infinite pain, which you will doubtless share ; for We must both of us remember that, next to God, it is principally to him that we owe the re-establishment of religion in the great kingdom of France. The pious and courageous initiative of 1801 has caused Us long ago to forget and forgive subsequent injuries. Savona and Fontainebleau are merely faults of the understanding, aberrations of human ambition ; the Concordat was an act of Christian and truly heroic restoration. . . . The mother and family of Napoleon made an appeal to Our compassion and generosity ; We think it a matter of justice and gratitude to respond to it. We are sure that we shall meet your wishes in charging you to write in Our name to the Allied Sovereigns and particularly to the Prince Regent [of Great Britain] to entreat them to mitigate the sufferings of such a prisoner. It would be a source of unbounded satisfaction to Us to have contributed to diminish the miseries of Napoleon. He can be no longer dangerous to anyone ; it is

Our desire that he should not be for anyone a subject of remorse.'

Pius VII. died in July, 1823, at the age of eighty-two. His monument in St. Peter's, by Thorwaldsen, is a work of great delicacy and simplicity, which proclaims at once a new epoch of art and the modern character of the Papacy. The pomp of the temporal Sovereign has disappeared. The Priest and the Teacher remain.

FIFTH PERIOD
THE MODERN PAPACY

CHAPTER XXX

LEO XII. AND PIUS VIII. (1823-1830)

ONCE more the Papacy rose phoenix-like from its ashes, but it was no longer the Papacy of the Middle Ages. New nations which the old Popes knew not had arisen, and the modern spirit of individual liberty, both civil and spiritual, was face to face with the old spirit of ecclesiastical despotism.

For a time all seemed quiet, and the old state of things appeared to be restored. The Jesuits continually increased in numbers and influence, and all manifestations of liberalism were rigorously suppressed. Some of the liberal leaders had fled to Spain; others, as Gabriele Rossetti, had come to England; but Mazzini and other patriots remained to prepare secretly for the *risorgimento* or re-awakening of Italy.

The first three Popes of this modern period were aged, sickly, or ignorant and incompetent, so the old abuses went on. But the *zeitgeist*, or spirit of the age, was not quenched, and the

young life of Italy groaned under the intransigent tyranny of Austrian and Papal domination.

Of all the Cardinals who entered the Conclave after the death of Pius VII., none passed within the gates more unnoticed than the Cardinal Annibale Della Genga. Yet Della Genga was of noble birth, and had been employed on high errands, and in the Conclave itself filled the important post of Cardinal Vicar. But he was so weak in body and so enfeebled in health, that when he was informed that some of the Cardinals wished to elect him, he replied: 'Think not of me, for you would elect a corpse.'

The first choice of the Cardinals was Severoli, then Castiglione, and thirdly Della Genga. Severoli was vetoed by Austria in order to secure Castiglione; but the Cardinals, offended by the veto, elected Della Genga under the name of LEO XII.

Della Genga was a thorough reactionary aristocrat, and as such, it was hoped, would be able to quench the still smouldering ashes of the revolution. He was in his sixty-fourth year, and was crowned on October 5, 1823. During the ceremony the Pope seemed greatly fatigued, and looked as pale as death. When, according to custom, the handful of flax was burnt with the solemn words, 'Holy Father, thus passeth away

the world's glory,' the Pope bent his head as though he not only acquiesced in the truth of the saying, but felt in his own experience the evidence of its near realization.

Early in December all audiences were suspended, and the Pope seemed ill past recovery. But in January, 1824, he began to rally, to the astonishment of all who knew him. Cardinal Wiseman, who was then a student at the English College at Rome, tells the story of the Pope's unexpected recovery. At the request of the apparently dying Pontiff, a saintly Bishop, Monsignor Strambi, of the Congregation of the Passion, was summoned from his distant See of Macerata. As soon as he saw the Pope he assured him of his recovery, as he had offered up to Heaven his own valueless life in exchange for one so precious. It did indeed seem as if he had transfused his own vitality into the Pope's languid frame. The Bishop died himself the next day, and the Pope rose like one from the grave.

Leo XII. at once began the repressive policy which he deemed necessary for the times. He first dealt with the Jews. They were strictly confined in the Ghetto, and again made to hear Christian sermons each week in the church of the fishmarket. A servant was reported to have baptized a Jewish child without the consent or

knowledge of its parents. The Pope claimed the body of the child thus made a Christian in its dying hours, and ordered a splendid funeral. A long procession of priests, monks, and soldiers entered the Ghetto, and bore the little corpse to the fishmarket Church of St. Angelo, where an elaborate service was performed, and the body was interred with every Roman rite. The next day the Jewish father received a bill for the whole expense of the ceremony, which he was compelled to pay.

Leo XII. followed his predecessor as regards the Holy Scriptures. In an Encyclical, dated May 3, 1824, he thus addressed the Latin Bishops: 'We, also, venerable brothers, in conformity with Our Apostolic duty, exhort you to turn away your flocks from *these poisonous pastures* (*i.e.*, the Bible in the vernacular). Reprove, entreat, be instant in season and out of season, that the faithful committed to you (adhering strictly to the rules of Our Congregation of the Index) be persuaded, that if the Sacred Scriptures be everywhere indiscriminately published, more evil than advantage will arise therefrom because of the temerity of men.' The Pope goes on to speak of 'a certain society commonly called the Bible Society,' and declares that the Protestant Bible which it circulates is 'the Gospel of the Devil.'

The year 1800 had passed without the usual Jubilee. The times did not allow of it. As the year 1825 came round, there was much debate as to the practicability of its revival. Some dreaded the expense, others feared that under the pilgrim cloak political conspirators might find an opportunity for hatching new plots. The King of the Two Sicilies was openly hostile, the Austrian Government was at best cold, the German Protestant Princes were directly opposed to the idea. In face of all these obstacles Leo declared, 'Nevertheless the Jubilee shall be,' and so it was.

The Bull of Preparation sounded a clarion note. 'We have resolved,' the Pope said, 'by virtue of the authority given to Us from Heaven, fully to unlock that sacred treasure composed of the merits, the sufferings, and virtues of Christ our Lord, and of His Virgin Mother, and of all the Saints, which the Author of human salvation has entrusted to Our dispensation. To you, therefore, venerable Brethren, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops, it belongs to explain clearly the power of Indulgences; what is their efficacy in the remission not only of canonical penance, but also of the temporal punishment due to the divine justice for past sin; and what succour is afforded out of this heavenly treasure, from the merits of Christ and His Saints, to such

as have departed real penitents in God's love, yet before they had duly satisfied by fruits worthy of penance for sins of commission and omission, and are now purifying in the fires of Purgatory.'

We have quoted at some length this passage from the Bull, because it shows so clearly the new position of the Papacy. Earthly ambitions and struggles for family aggrandizement have passed away, and have been succeeded by a claim stronger than ever to act as the appointed representative of the Almighty upon earth. In the words of an acute French writer—'To the Pope-King has succeeded the Pope-God.'

The Jubilee was the great work of Leo XII., and is commemorated on many of his medals. It was successful beyond all expectation. Tens of thousands of pilgrims were entertained at Rome, twelve of whom were served daily by the Pope at his own table. This practice the Chevalier Artaud de Montor tells us was continued to the end of his life.

Not much more need be said concerning the reign of Leo XII. Though personally of a kind, gentle, loving disposition, fond of visiting the sick, generous to the poor of Rome, he was entirely in the hands of the reactionary Jesuit party, and was the intransigent enemy of all modern ideas. His rule was necessarily one of

extreme severity, and the Romagna bitterly resented the imposition of his iron yoke and the blow thus given to their liberal aspirations. Yet, notwithstanding, we must acknowledge that Leo XII. was earnestly desirous of doing right, and unflinchingly pursued what seemed to him the good way.

His last days were full of pain, and life became a burden to him. On February 6, 1829, he sank under an operation which was unskilfully performed. By his own desire he was buried in front of the altar of Leo the Great in St. Peter's. A brass plate in the floor with the following inscription composed by himself marks the spot: 'To Leo the Great, my heavenly Patron, I prayerfully commend myself. Here, close to his sacred ashes, I, Leo XII., have chosen my own place of burial, who am his humble client, and the least of the inheritors of his great name.'

On the death of Leo XII., the Cardinals were not long in deliberating. Their choice naturally fell on the Cardinal Castiglioni, who had long been marked out as the future Pope. He took the name of Pius VIII.

The new Pontiff was of noble birth, and had early distinguished himself by his studies in canon law. As a jurist of great repute, he had assisted Pius VII. in his negotiations with Napoleon. It

is recorded that on one occasion the Pope foretold his elevation and his title, saying with a smile : ' Your Holiness, Pius VIII., may one day settle the matter.'

In character Pius VIII. much resembled his patron Pius VII. He was dignified in demeanour and gentle in disposition ; but his health was already broken, and he was unable even to perform the usual Pontifical functions. Immediately on his accession he chose Cardinal Albani of the Austrian party as Secretary of State, and accordingly the policy of the Vatican was entirely subservient to Austria.

Liberal opinions were everywhere held in check, and the edicts against all secret societies, especially the Carbonari, were renewed and vigorously enforced. But the fatal year of 1830 brought about a second French revolution, and the revolutionary spirit broke out on all sides and even in the Papal States. The excitement proved too much for the aged and infirm Pontiff, who died on December 1, 1830, after a reign of little over nine months.

Among the few Cardinals created by Pius VIII. was a somewhat remarkable Englishman, Bishop Thomas Weld. He was the eldest son of Thomas Weld, Esq., the founder of Stoneyhurst College, and on the death of his wife took orders and became Coadjutor Bishop of Canada. When created

Cardinal, he relinquished his estates to his brother, and resided exclusively at Rome, where he was known for his courteous hospitality in the Odescalchi Palace and for his kindness and liberality to the poor. He died in April, 1837.

CHAPTER XXXI

GREGORY XVI. (1831-1846)

IMMEDIATELY on the decease of Pius VIII. the Cardinals assembled. On January 7, 1831, Cardinal Giustiniani was in a majority, having obtained twenty-one votes out of the necessary twenty-nine; but to the amazement of all present Cardinal Marco, the Spanish Envoy, pronounced the veto of Spain to this election. In a dignified speech Giustiniani expressed his own surprise at his exclusion, but declared that of all the kindnesses conferred upon him by the King of Spain the greatest was the veto, which had spared him from the heavy burden of the Pontificate.

The Cardinals then elected a monk of the Camoldese branch of the Benedictine Order, named Bartholomew Albert Cappellari, who became GREGORY XVI. The new Pope was scarcely known outside his convent and the Vatican, but he had published a very learned work entitled 'The Triumph of the Holy See and of the Church against the Attacks of Innovators.' It passed

through three editions at Venice, and was translated into several languages. Although a Cardinal, Gregory was only in priest's Orders, and was therefore consecrated as Bishop at the same time that he was crowned as Pope. It was remarked that as a monk, as Cardinal, and as Pope, the proper colour of his habit was always white.

Hardly was the coronation of Gregory accomplished when revolt broke out in many places within the Papal States. The Bolognese took the lead, and pulling down the Pope's arms from the Legatine Palace, they hoisted the tricolour flag over the building. The Pope turned first to France, but the Government of Louis Philippe had its own origin in a revolution, and was indisposed to put down the revolutionary spirit elsewhere. Austria then proffered her aid, which was accepted; and in a few days the Austrian troops poured into the Papal States, and crushed the revolt. The leaders were all exiled or put in prison, and a time of severe repression followed.

Gregory XVI. was a man of the true monkish type. His face, which was in marked contrast to the polished and refined countenances of his immediate predecessors, betrays his narrow monkish spirit. The great aim of his Pontificate was to arrest all progress. He would not even permit the construction of any railroads within his

dominions 'lest they should work harm to religion.' For him railroads were 'the work of the Devil.' A free press was abomination in his sight. In his famous encyclical, 'Mirari Vos,' of July 15, 1832, he spoke of 'that most horrible, never to be sufficiently execrated, and detestable liberty of the press,' with which he coupled the maxim of liberty of conscience, which he denounced as 'false, absurd, and extravagant.' These words seem sufficiently strong, but they were surpassed by the bitterness with which the Pope attacked Protestant Bible Societies in his Encyclical of May 8, 1844.

In this remarkable document Gregory XVI. declared that 'among the chief machinations of non-Catholics of various denominations directed to ensnare the professors of Catholic truth and to estrange them from our holy faith the Bible Societies, which were first instituted in England, hold a conspicuous place.' He went on to say that a new society, called the 'Christian League,' was endeavouring to introduce into Italy those 'vulgar and corrupt Bibles,' and at the same time 'the worst kind of books and pamphlets,' among which the Pope specially mentions 'The History of the Reformation,' by Merle d'Aubigné, and 'The Memoirs of the Reformation in Italy,' by John Cric. Accordingly the Pope admonishes the

Bishops as follows : 'It is your duty to remove from the hands of the faithful Bibles translated into the vulgar tongue, and all other dangerous and prohibited books, and to see that the faithful themselves, by your admonitions and authority, may learn what kind of food they should consider wholesome, and what noxious and deadly.'

As to what sort of literature the Pope considered wholesome, it is worth noticing that, when his favourite Gaetanino Moroni, who had formerly been his barber, and was made first groom of the Pope's chamber, wrote a ponderous 'Ecclesiastical Dictionary,' every commune in the Papal States was by the Pope's express order compelled to purchase a copy, to the great benefit of the ex-barber.

During this reign certain brilliant French writers, the Abbé de Lamennais, Count Montalembert, and the Abbé Lacordaire, endeavoured to reconcile the Papacy with the rising democracy. Their views were expressed in a journal styled *L'Avenir*, but this was soon discontinued by desire of the Pope. Lamennais then sent forth 'Les Paroles d'un Croyant,' which attracted immense attention, more than 100,000 copies being sold in one year; and this Gregory met with the Encyclical of June 15, 1834, 'Singulari

Nos,' in which he utterly condemned Lamennais as a heretic and renegade.

In December, 1845, Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia, visited Rome. For some time past the Holy See had been complaining without effect concerning the treatment of the Emperor's Catholic subjects, especially the Poles. The Pope determined to speak to the Czar in bold, plain terms. What passed at the private interview no one knows. Gregory's own words were: 'I said to him all that the Holy Ghost dictated to me.' An eye-witness of the Emperor's entry to the audience chamber says: 'The Czar went in with his usual firm and royal aspect, with grand statue-like features, stately frame, and martial bearing; free, and at his ease, with gracious looks and condescending gentleness of salutation. He came forth with his head uncovered, and his hair—if it can be said of man—dishevelled; haggard and pale; looking as if he had passed through a protracted fever; taking long strides, with stooping shoulders, unobservant, unsaluting; he waited not for his carriage, but rushed forth into the outer court, and hurried away apparently from a scene of discomfiture.' From that day the Catholics of Russia dated a milder treatment and a juster rule.

Nothing is more difficult than to form a fair and just estimate of the reign of Gregory XVI. and of

his personal character. Cardinal Wiseman, who had received much personal kindness from the Pope, saw everything painted with roseate hues, and seems to have been quite ignorant of what was going on in the provinces. The Chevalier Artaud de Montor in his history simply copies word for word 'The Recollections' of Cardinal Wiseman. On the other hand Massimo d'Azeglio, the distinguished Italian statesman and writer, in his famous work, 'The Last Events in the Romagna' (1848), takes a very different view, and gives a sad picture of the Roman States under the rule of Gregory. He says that the Pontifical States groaned under his misrule. 'If you ask a youth in the Romagna if he has ever been in prison, he replies, "I am not yet a man, or I should have been."'

Gregory was a thorough obscurantist. In his great medal of unusual size he is represented wearing the tiara with the pompous inscription, 'This is the successor of Peter, Head of the Catholic Church.' He hated all political business. 'I am too old to reform the world,' he is reported to have said, 'but the world will get on somehow without me.' The ruthless and reactionary Secretary of State, Cardinal Lambruschini, really wielded the power of the Papacy, and was responsible for much evil. The reactionary party were well pleased

with this condition of things, but the liberal party leader regarded the Pope as 'the bitter foe of the national life of Italy, the faithful satellite of her foreign lords, and an assiduous ministrant to her misery and debasement.'

Gregory's chief merit was as a patron of art and agriculture, as is expressed in many of his medals. He built a new wing to the Vatican, and added a new museum to the Lateran. He caused a tunnel to be made through the hill at Tivoli for the river Anio, and so put an end to the devastations caused by its periodic overflow.

On May 27, 1826, being the Feast of the Ascension, Gregory XVI. at the age of eighty-one gave his last solemn benediction, *Urbi et Orbi*, from the high balcony of the Lateran to an enormous crowd. Almost immediately afterwards the Pope was seized with illness, and after receiving the last sacraments, expired on June 1. 'I wish to die as a monk and not as a Sovereign,' was his expressed desire. It was fulfilled, for he passed away very suddenly, attended only by a few simple priests before the Court of Cardinals could be summoned.

CHAPTER XXXII

PIUS IX. (1846-1878)

WE are now reaching the end of our story ; but the Pontificate which we are about to describe is not the least worthy of attention of all the long series of more than 250 Popes. It was the longest reign of all ; for the first time the Pope attained to the traditional *dies Petri*, the twenty-five years which St. Peter is supposed to have lived as Bishop of Rome. Moreover, in this reign the temporal power of the Popes ended, as it would seem, for ever ; but the claim to spiritual power was advanced as never before, and this claim still holds the field.

After the funeral ceremonies for Gregory XVI. were accomplished, the Cardinals to the number of fifty-four met in Conclave. Warned by recent elections, they determined to proceed to an immediate vote, before the Catholic Powers had time to announce their vetos. Among the Cardinals was a man of noble birth and blameless life, John Mary Mastai-Ferretti, Bishop of Imola. As the

Bishop was passing through Fossombrone on his way to the Conclave, a white dove, undisturbed by the noise of the crowd, and regardless of their attempts to drive it away, settled on the carriage. The populace at once seized upon the omen, and cried out, 'Evviva! Evviva! Behold the Pope!'

They were right. Cardinal Prince Altieri proposed Mastai-Ferretti to the Conclave. The great Cardinal Lambruschini, late Secretary of State, was also nominated, and was supported by the Austrian reactionary party. But Mastai at once secured a plurality of votes, and one of the Cardinals is reported to have said to Lambruschini, 'If God makes the election, Mastai will be chosen; if the Devil gets his finger in, it will be you or I.' On the second day Mastai increased his majority, and on the third day he was elected Pope almost unanimously under the name of Pius IX. (Pio Nono).

Great was the surprise of the Roman people when the name of the new Pontiff was announced. The Bishop of Imola had been rarely seen in Rome, and few knew of him but as of a quiet, gentle Bishop, much beloved in his diocese for his charity and good works. When, however, the Pontiff appeared on the balcony, a sudden impulse came upon the people, and the cry arose from all sides, 'We have a Pope! He loves us. He is

our Father !' Moved to tears, Pius IX. raised his eyes to Heaven, and gave his first Papal benediction.

The families of Mastai and Ferretti were both known for their long devotion to the Holy See and the Roman Catholic religion. In his earliest childhood John Mary had been taught to pray for the captive Pius VI., and his own father had suffered imprisonment for the cause of Pius VII. He himself at first embraced the military profession, but was soon seized by a malady deemed incurable by the physicians. In an agony of grief his mother appealed to the Virgin Mary for help, and the young Count recovered in a way which seemed miraculous. He then abandoned his military career and entered the priesthood, resolved to consecrate his restored life to God and to a very special devotion to Mary, who had, he believed, given him back his life from the grave.

As priest he was sent to South America to restore the Catholic religion in the Republic of Chili, and while there was in extreme peril of shipwreck. Returning to Italy he was consecrated Bishop, and made director of the hospital of St. Michael, and after a few months was promoted to the See of Imola. His gentle conduct was not altogether pleasing to the stern and severe Gregory XVI. ; nevertheless, his good works

made him so conspicuous that he was created Cardinal in 1840. His charity remained inexhaustible. On one occasion it is related that, having given away his last coin, he took the silver plate from his table and gave it to a poor woman for her need. Though living in unobtrusive retirement, he was credited with liberal ideas, and was known to be a great admirer of Gioberti, whose celebrated book on 'The Moral and Civil Pre-eminence of Italy' had filled the whole of the younger generation with enthusiasm.

At his accession Pius IX. was certainly desirous of embarking on a new and enlightened policy. Minghetti said of him that he was the most absolutely liberal man he had ever known. The Austrian partisan Lambruschini was at once dismissed from office, and the milder, more liberal Cardinal Grizzi was appointed Secretary of State. An amnesty was proclaimed; the prisons were emptied; three thousand exiles were recalled to their native land; the Press was allowed a certain measure of freedom; restrictions on trade were removed; political spies were discouraged; the walls of the Ghetto were levelled, and the Jews treated with a liberality such as they had not known for many long years.

The contrast of such unlooked-for enlightenment with the harsh despotism of the former Pope

seemed like a burst of sunshine after the passing of a heavy thunder-cloud. Rome was in raptures ; all Italy rejoiced ; Europe applauded. Hosannas rent the air ; the ninth Pius was hailed as the deliverer of his people ; the City was illuminated with torchlight processions, and the breach between the Popedom and Italian patriotism seemed to be healed at once and for ever.

But all was not as smooth as it looked. The greater part of the Cardinals stood aloof. The Jesuits openly disapproved, and most of the nobles were opposed to the new liberal policy. Austria disliked her reforming neighbour, and watched the Pope's proceedings with jealous alarm.

In 1848 the crisis came. The constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe fell, and the second French Republic was set up. A ferment of liberalism arose in all parts of Europe. In these difficult times the real character of Pius IX. was displayed. He was seen to have been only a kind-hearted benevolent priest, with no sort of power or ability to hold his own ground. He quailed before the rising storm, disowned his own soldiers, and recalled his generals when they were about to march into Lombardy to free Italy from the foreigners.

Great was the disappointment of the Roman patriots when they discovered their mistake. The

Pope had been their idol : he was now the object of their hatred and abuse. One Ministry after another was tried, and at last Pius appointed the able but reactionary Pellegrino Rossi. On November 15 Rossi was murdered by an unknown hand as he entered the new Chamber of Deputies. The Pope, in a state of abject fear, fled next day disguised as the chaplain of the Bavarian Minister to Gaeta, and there took refuge with Ferdinand of Naples.

The Romans now pulled down the Popedom, and set up a Republic with Joseph Mazzini as its head. In a marvellous way the Republican soldiers, led by Garibaldi, held out for some time against Austria, Naples, and a contingent of French troops. But in the end resistance against such overpowering odds was useless. On April 12, 1850, the Pope returned to Rome, supported by foreign bayonets, having laid aside all his liberal ideas, and resolved to rule henceforth as guided by his Jesuit advisers and his Secretary of State, the notorious Cardinal Antonelli.

From this time the Pope turned his whole mind to advancing the spiritual claims of the Papacy. In September, 1850, the very year of his restoration, by a letter Apostolic, Pius IX. re-established an ecclesiastical hierarchy of Bishops and Archbishops in England, making at the same time

Nicholas Wiseman Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal of the Roman Church. The news of these appointments announced by Cardinal Wiseman in true Papal style by a letter dated, 'From the Flaminian Gate,' raised a tempest of opposition in England. After the futile measure known as the 'Ecclesiastical Titles Bill' had been passed, the agitation soon subsided. Encouraged by this result, Pius proceeded to establish the Roman hierarchy in Holland with similar results. This was done in the year 1853.

The next year (1854) took place at Rome that which Pius regarded as the great event of his reign—the solemn proclamation of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. From his youth the Pope had been specially devoted to her, whose name he bore. To her he attributed his recovery from deadly sickness; to her he gave glory for salvation from a watery grave on the coast of Chili, and to her he said he owed his restoration to the Pontifical throne. He was therefore determined to show his gratitude to her by conferring a new honour on his august Deliverer.

Accordingly, on December 10, 1854, in an assembly of Cardinals and Prelates of all nations, Pius IX. solemnly set forth the new dogma in the following terms: 'We declare, pronounce, and define that the doctrine which

holds that the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the first instant of her conception, by a singular privilege of the Omnipotent God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind, was preserved Immaculate from all stain of original sin, has been revealed by God, and therefore should firmly and constantly be believed by the faithful. Wherefore, if any shall dare—which God avert—to think otherwise than as it has been defined by Us, let them know and understand that they are condemned by their own act, that they have suffered the shipwreck of the faith, and have revolted from the unity of the Church, and subject themselves to the penalties justly established, if what they think they should dare to signify by word, writing, or other outward means.'

Thereupon the Cardinal Dean, prostrate at the feet of the Pope, thanked him in the name of the universal Church for the decree of definition. At the same time the cannons of the Castle of St. Angelo, and the bells of all the basilicas and churches of Rome announced to the City and the world the 'triumph of Mary.' The Sovereign Pontiff then intoned the hymn of thanksgiving, and gave his benediction to 50,000 witnesses. A medal was struck in honour of the occasion, showing the Angels in Heaven congratulating the Blessed Virgin on her new honour, while the

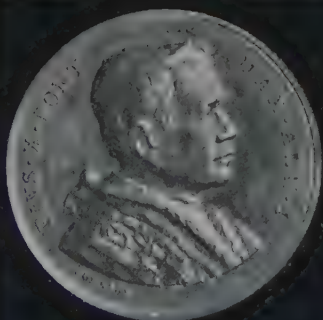
PLATE X.



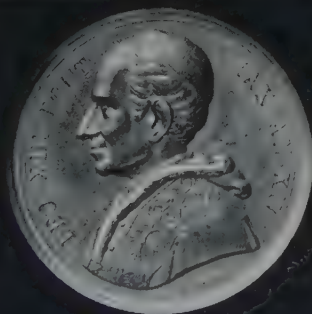
PIVS IX.



The Proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception in St. Peter's. The Angels above congratulate the B.V.M. on her new Honour.



PIVS X.



LEO XIII.

Pope is seen proclaiming the dogma on earth. It was the first new dogma added to the articles of the Roman faith since the days of the Council of Trent, and produced the greatest sensation everywhere. Statues of the Immaculate Virgin treading the old serpent under foot were erected in many places with the words 'O Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us.'

All through his long reign Pius IX. showed the same devotion to the Virgin, and belief in her miraculous power. In 1867 a picture of the Virgin was said to have winked its eyes. The Pope fully believed the miracle, and offered large indulgences to those who subscribed for a golden crown for the picture. The miraculous apparition of the Virgin at Lourdes was held to be 'the greatest and most Catholic miracle of modern times, since it implied the affirmation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception by the lips of Our Lady herself.'

The cult of St. Joseph was also dear to Pius IX. In 1855 he dedicated the entire month of March to Joseph, and in 1870 solemnly proclaimed St. Joseph to be 'Universal patron, guardian, and protector of the whole Church.' This last decree was largely due to the instance of the English Catholics, led by Cardinal Vaughan, who was himself a devoted client of St. Joseph. In this

and in many other ways Pius IX. sought by new cults and new devotions to infuse new spiritual life into the Roman Church.

Meanwhile the condition of Italy, and particularly that of the Papal provinces, was truly deplorable. The Emperor Francis Joseph undid all that Joseph II. had accomplished, and allowed the Pope to exercise full sway over the Church in his dominions. In return Pius IX., guided always by his evil genius Antonelli, supported the rule of Austria in Italy. Every petty Italian tyrant, every Austrian Governor had the benefit of the Pope's sympathy and help. Ferdinand of Naples found in Pius IX. his warmest supporter and ally. A thick gloom of despair spread over the whole peninsula with the exception of the Sardinian States. At last, in 1859, Napoleon III. remembered Italy, and drew his sword to set her free. By the signal victories of Magenta and Solferino the power of Austria in Italy was broken. The Princes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena fled in confusion. The Austrians withdrew from the Legations, and Emilia was lost to the Pope. The Papal army, under General Lamoricière, was defeated at Castel-fidardo. Garibaldi freed the Two Sicilies from Bourbon rule; and in March, 1861, the free Italian Parliament proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of

Italy. But the French Emperor loved not the Kingdom which his own victories had called into existence, and insisted on reserving Rome and the Romagna for the Pope, and supported his purpose by a French army of occupation at Rome.

The Pope now gave his whole attention to spiritual matters. He granted new indulgences to new devotions. He beatified and canonized many new Saints, and in particular a number of Japanese martyrs, some of whom were boys of twelve to fifteen years of age. In his allocution of June, 1862, to the Sacred College, Pius thus expresses his feelings on the subject: 'Venerable Brethren, We felt the greatest joy yesterday, when by God's assistance We accorded the honours and worship reserved for the Saints to twenty-seven invincible heroes of Our divine religion: inasmuch as We could do so with you, Venerable Brethren, who, endowed with no common share of virtue and piety, called upon to share Our solicitude, and fighting courageously for the House of Israel in these times of difficulty, are to Us a source of the greatest comfort and consolation.'

The mind of the Pope, always guided by Antonelli and the Jesuit party, was now turned to the great question of Papal Infallibility. Once he became seized of the idea it was the absorbing

passion of his life. The way in which the new dogma was engineered and ultimately carried through the Vatican Council by threats and cajolements and secret intrigue, forms one of the most painful chapters in the history of the Papacy. Dr. Döllinger has given a graphic and awful account of the proceedings of the Pope and the Council. Professor Salmon has also dealt exhaustively with the subject in his great work on 'The Infallibility of the Church.' In the end the Pope triumphed, but at the cost of losing some of his most distinguished adherents. In July, 1870, Pius IX. solemnly declared the new dogma that the Pope, speaking *ex cathedra*, is infallible, and that the definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable.

The same year the Franco-German war broke out; the French troops were withdrawn from Rome; the Italian forces of Victor Emmanuel entered the city, and took possession of the Quirinal and the whole dominion of the Pope, allowing only the Vatican and its immediate precincts to remain for the Pope's exclusive use and management. The temporal power of the Papacy was gone, as it would seem, entirely and for ever.

Pius IX. lived yet eight years, but never again left the Vatican. He would make no terms with

the Italian government. He refused all offers of a subsidy, and met every overture with the fatal words, 'Non Possumus.' He remained a self-styled and voluntary prisoner of the Vatican, and filled the Courts of Europe with unavailing complaints and entreaties for restoration.

Yet to the last Pius IX. had a kind and gentle face with a twinkle in his eye, which showed that he was not altogether unhappy. He would receive children and young people in a fatherly way, and pat the heads of the little ones as he gave them his blessing. He delighted in receiving bands of pilgrims, who laid their offerings of Peter's pence at his feet. His own Jubilee, which brought him many rich and costly gifts from many Sovereigns and Princes, including our own Queen Victoria, was a source of the greatest satisfaction to the kindly old man, who ended his life peacefully in 1878.

CHAPTER XXXIII

LEO XIII. (1878-1903)

AMONG all modern Pontiffs the late Pope, Vincenzo Joachim Pecci, LEO XIII., stands out as by far the greatest. Of noble birth on both sides, a cultured scholar, a profound statesman, of stainless personal character, and devout religious mind, with wide sympathies and a broad look-out, he gained the esteem of both Kings and peoples, the respect of both friends and foes. He not only moulded and directed the policy of the Vatican upon lines distinctly his own, but in many countries and on many occasions he made his personal influence felt to a degree which has been attained by no other Pope in modern times. Yet there was another side to his character and life-work. No Pope so greatly encouraged the worship of the Virgin, the devotion to St. Joseph, the cult of the Sacred Heart, and the last new devotion to St. Anthony of Padua. No Pope also was more distinctly favourable to the religious Orders, and especially to the Company of Jesus.

It was to the care of the Jesuit Fathers that the Count and Countess Pecci entrusted the education of their sons. Accordingly, at the early age of eight years the young Joachim left his home for the Jesuit school at Viterbo, and when the famous Jesuit Collegio Romano was restored to the Order in 1825, Pecci was one of the first fourteen students who entered its walls. To this Jesuit training at school and college much that puzzles us in his life and character is doubtless due. Leo XIII. never forgot his young days, and was never ashamed to own himself a pupil of the Jesuits. While residing at their Roman College he was brought into close connection with the reigning Pontiff, Leo XII., and conceived such a veneration for him that on his own election he unhesitatingly assumed the name of his first kind patron.

The great talent of the young Pecci, coupled with his noble birth and influential connections, led to his early and rapid rise in the Papal service. At the age of twenty-seven he was already a domestic prelate to Gregory XVI., and filled various posts in the administration with conspicuous zeal and ability. In 1843 he was sent as Nuncio to Brussels, and was highly esteemed by King Leopold I., who said to him, 'Really, Monsignore, you are as clever a politician as you

are a good churchman.' Recalled to Italy, he held the See of Perugia for thirty-two years. In 1853 he was created Cardinal, and by his appointment in 1877 to the high post of Cardinal Camerlengo he was designated by Pius IX. as the fittest to be his successor. In the following year, after a very short Conclave of less than forty-eight hours, Cardinal Pecci was elected Pope as Leo XIII.

Madame Waddington, the wife of a former French Premier, thus describes her impressions of Pope Leo: 'He is a very striking figure, tall, slight, with hardly anything earthly about him—the type of an intellectual, ascetic priest—all his will and energy shining out of his eyes, which are extraordinarily bright and keen for a man of his age. He is as well up in everything as when he was Bishop of Perugia, and his indomitable will carries him through everything. He was most gracious, and spoke to me always in Italian and to my husband in French. He asked all sorts of questions about our home politics and the attitude of the French clergy, saying that my husband's opinion as a Protestant would be impartial. When he answered in somewhat guarded terms, the Pope looked at him with his bright piercing eyes, saying, "*Je vous en prie, Monsieur Waddington, parlez sans réserves.*" It is wonderful

that the old man, sitting there at the top of the Vatican, can think out all these perplexed solutions. They say he works it all out himself, and rarely asks for advice.'

The first act of the new Pope was the restoration of the Hierarchy in Scotland by the Bull, '*Ex Supremo Apostolatus Apice*,' and in his first Allocution he specially besought Saint Margaret, 'the glory and the bulwark of the realm [of Scotland], to extend to this Church in its newness of life a loving and continual favour.' He spoke also of the devotion of Highland clans to the Church of Rome, and paid a special tribute of praise to England for the religious liberty accorded to its members.

England was always a chief object of the Pope's attention and hope. He longed above all things to win the English people; but while they esteemed and honoured the man, they were not willing to receive his doctrines or to put their necks under the heavy yoke of Rome. In April, 1895, Leo XIII. wrote his celebrated letter—'*Ad Anglos*'—'to the English people who seek the kingdom of Christ in the unity of the faith.' He spoke of his sincere affection 'to the illustrious English race,' and in terms never before used by a Roman Pontiff towards those outside the Roman pale, besought 'all who

glory in the Christian name' to take part in the work of obtaining by diligence in holy prayer the Re-union of Christendom.

This letter created much interest and in some quarters even enthusiasm in England; but it meant little more than 'Be of my flock. God bless you!' Yet it created hopes, which were shared even by Mr. Gladstone, that the Pope would recognise Anglican Orders and allow a relaxation of the rule of celibacy to English priests. These hopes were soon destroyed. Notwithstanding a most courteous and kindly letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Pope, Leo promulgated a Bull, '*Apostolicæ Curæ*,' by which he entirely and for ever condemned Anglican Orders as 'absolutely null and utterly void,' and showed that the only way of Re-union with Rome was by complete submission to the Papal authority and to all Roman doctrines. Further discussion was useless. Rome had spoken. The case was ended.

Yet the Pope still longed for England. All through his Pontificate the most strenuous efforts were made, especially through the Jesuit Order, to win back England to Rome. The far-seeing mind of the Pope was also largely drawn to the United States of America. It was greatly due to his personal interest in American affairs that a

new departure was taken in the relations of the Holy See to the United States, and that so influential a position has been obtained by the American Hierarchy.

In dealing with other countries the Pope exhibited the same remarkable wisdom and moderation. In the great controversy with Germany, known as the Kultur-Kampf, the Pope more than held his own against the might of Prince Bismarck. The passive resistance of the German Bishops, several of whom endured long periods of imprisonment for disobeying the Falk laws, coupled with the courteous and conciliatory appeals of Leo to the German Emperor and the Crown Prince, brought about a *modus vivendi* and reconciliation highly favourable to the Holy See.

In the very difficult questions which arose between Rome and the French Republic the tactful moderation of Leo XIII. was again conspicuous, and so long as he lived an open conflict was avoided. But for the intransigent attitude of the old French royalist party, a permanent peace might have been arranged.

In Russia also the position of the Roman Church was greatly improved by the personal action of the Pope. Leo XIII. found the Papacy an almost hopeless inheritance, but he raised

it to a position of commanding influence and power.

The Encyclicals of Leo XIII. on social and labour questions and on the study of Holy Scriptures, astonished the world by their liberality. The Society of St. Jerome, under the shadow of the Vatican and the immediate patronage of the Pope, issued about 30,000 New Testaments translated afresh into Italian with notes and illustrations, which were sold throughout Italy at a very low price, to the amazement of those trained in the old Papal style. Had it not been for Jesuit training and Jesuit influence Leo XIII. might have been, not only the greatest of Popes, but one of the greatest leaders and benefactors of men in the nineteenth century.

But alas! mingled with the loftiest aspirations for peace, unity, and charity, there was a love of superstitious and unscriptural devotions. The first Encyclical on the Rosary, dated September, 1883, dedicated the whole month of October to the Rosary, which owes its origin to the persecuting zeal of St. Dominic against the Albigenses. No less than sixteen Encyclicals and Briefs in favour of the Rosary were sent forth during the first thirteen years of this reign.

This is the language of one of these documents, dated September 8, 1892: 'As often as the

occasion permits Us to rekindle and augment the love and devotion of Christian people towards the great Mother of God, We are penetrated with a wondrous pleasure and joy. For, indeed, the holy affection to Mary, which we imbibed almost with our mother's milk, has vigorously increased with growing years, and become more deeply rooted in Our mind. . . . In the many and varied trials that have befallen Us, We have always looked up to Her with eager and imploring eyes. All Our hopes and fears, Our joys and sorrows have been deposited in her bosom, and it has been Our constant care to entreat Her to show to Us a mother's kindness, to be always at Our side, and to grant especially that We, on Our part, may be enabled to manifest to Her the proofs of the most devoted love of a son. . . . And this Our hope (Our heart delights to tell it) throughout all Our life, and especially in the discharge of the highest Apostolate, has never failed to help and console Us in every crisis. . . . Let Us piously invoke that ready help in that method of prayer which She Herself has taught us—the Rosary which She gave Herself to Dominic.'

Not only did Leo XIII. express such warm devotion to the Blessed Virgin, he also encouraged by approving Briefs and Indulgences all other

superstitions of later Romanism, such as the Cult of St. Joseph, St. James of Compostella, and St. Anthony of Padua, N.-D. of Lourdes, the Holy Coat of Trèves, and the Sacred House of Loreto. Very particularly also he promoted the Cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. On June 28, 1899, he raised the festival of the Sacred Heart to the level of the highest festivals of the Christian year. In the Encyclical of May 25 of the same year he consecrated the whole human race to the most Sacred Heart of Jesus, and in another Brief granted an Indulgence of two hundred days to anyone reciting certain prayers to the Eucharistic Heart of Jesus.

It is not for us to pass a harsh judgment on these errors. It may be said of Leo that he had 'a zeal for God but not according to knowledge.' He was a born leader of men, endowed with unrivalled gifts of influence, full of tenderness and love towards his fellow-men, distinguished at once for statesmanship and philanthropy, and, as far as his imperfect light and erroneous training permitted, devoted to the service of God. We are not blind to the lamentable defects and sad superstition which marred his best efforts; but we cannot withhold our meed of praise from the great and good man who so recently occupied the Pontifical throne of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXIV

PIUS X. (1903-)

WHEN Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, came to Rome for the Conclave of 1903, he was only known at Rome as a Prelate of great piety, popularly called a *Santo*, or Saint, who had the reputation of being a loyal Italian and well-wisher to the King and Queen of Italy, whom he had already received at Venice with great courtesy and cordiality.

So little was he known to the Sacred College that a great French Cardinal who sat next to him asked him his name. Sarto replied in Latin : 'I am Sarto from Venice. I am sorry that I do not speak French.' Cardinal Mathieu courteously rejoined : 'I am sorry too, for in that case your Eminence has no chance of election.' 'No,' said Sarto laughingly, 'I am safe.'

At first the contest seemed to rest between the ex-Secretary of State, Rampolla, and the Prefect of the Propaganda, Gotti. At the first scrutiny Rampolla received twenty-four votes ; Gotti came

second with seventeen; while Sarto was third with only five votes; several other Cardinals received still less. Next day when Rampolla secured twenty-nine votes, Cardinal Puzyna came forward with the veto of the Emperor of Austria against Rampolla, who was thought to be too much devoted to French interests. On the fifth day Sarto received fifty votes, and was accordingly elected Pope under the name of Pius X.

The present Pope is of very humble origin and in no way a learned man, but as a parish priest, as Bishop of Mantua, and as Patriarch of Venice, he had shown a high degree of administrative ability combined with much spiritual power. Evidently the Cardinals, as has so often been the case in the history of the Popes, wished a complete change. It was the true 'rhythm of the Papacy,' a going back from the diplomatic astuteness of Leo XIII. to the narrow ecclesiastical spirit of Pius IX.

At first great things were hoped of Pius X. He was to be at once a liberally-minded and sincerely religious Pope. He was to make peace with the kingdom of Italy, and come forth from the seclusion of the Vatican as the true Vicar of Christ and Bishop of his people.

But his first acts dispelled the illusion. The very name he took had an ill omen, for Pius IX.

was regarded as the most ill-advised and unfortunate Pope of modern times. The appointment of the young but talented Monsignore Merry del Val as Cardinal and Secretary of State was still more disastrous. For Merry del Val is a Spaniard, the son of the Spanish Ambassador to the Vatican, to whose influence the late Jesuit 'General' Martin was thought to have owed his elevation. Indeed, Merry del Val himself wished at one time to become a Jesuit, but it was thought that he would serve the Company of Jesus better by pursuing his career in the Vatican Court. Yet another Spaniard, the Capuchin Cardinal Vives y Tuto, also an ally of the Jesuits, has acquired great influence with Pius X., who has quite discarded Cardinals Rampolla and Satolli, the chief advisers of Leo XIII. Had Rampolla continued at the helm, it is highly probable that the rupture with France might have been avoided, and the Law of Separation would never have been passed. The full effects of that measure are not yet visible ; but Pius X. has already consecrated a large number of French Bishops, who are the first to be appointed directly by the Pope alone for some hundreds of years.

There can be little doubt but that Pius X. began his reign with the best intentions and with an earnest desire to do good. He took for his

motto : 'Restaurare omnia in Christo' (To restore all things in Christ). But the *Curia* was too strong for him. They would have none of his reforms. They have treated Pius X. much as their predecessors treated Adrian VI. For them Pius is a foreigner who does not understand Rome, nor the ways of Rome. He has interfered with their florid Church music, and insisted on a return to the old-fashioned plain song. He has ordered an 'Apostolical Visitation' of both Rome and Italy—a thing which has not been done for more than a hundred years. All the easy-going, careless, and evil-living Bishops and priests, and they are not a few, have become the enemies of the man who has wished to reform their lax ways, and who insists on sermons being preached to the people and catechetical instruction given to the young.

The Pope is disliked by all classes. Men shrug their shoulders at his name, and say that 'it is all music with the Pope.' The Cardinals, with the exception of the two Spaniards, keep studiously aloof, and only visit the Vatican on strictly official occasions. They will never again make the mistake of electing *un Santo*.

Pius X. is a disappointed man. There is a wistful look in his wonderful eyes which is most pathetic and touching. He seems to be longing

for the fresh air and quiet life of the Venice which he loved, and where he was also so much beloved. His portrait, as seen by his medals, is wholly unlike that of any previous Pope. He has not the intellectual ascetic appearance of Leo XIII., nor the half-malicious but kindly smile of Pius IX., but it is a face which makes an impression on the beholder. It is an essentially human face with a good honest expression in his rugged features and massive jaw, but it is an expression always saddened by that look of sorrow which bespeaks a sense of dissatisfaction with the state of the Church and of his own helplessness to restore it in Christ. What the future of Pius X. will be none can venture to prophesy. His broken and disappointed spirit may lead to an early death, or may impel him to imitate Celestine V. by making what Dante calls the Great Renunciation.

APPENDIX A

NOTE ON ITALIAN MEDALS

MEDALS differ from coins in that they were not intended to be used as currency for commercial purposes. They are made of silver, brass, and bronze, rarely of gold, and were issued to commemorate distinguished persons and remarkable events. As they were not intended for circulation from hand to hand, but were to be kept carefully as mementoes, they were modelled in higher, bolder, and more delicate relief than coins, and have been more perfectly preserved.

Medals usually have a portrait head on the upper or obverse side, with an allegorical, symbolical, or historical scene, or sometimes an inscription on the lower or reverse side. Many of them have been designed and executed by the most renowned artists, and are valuable not only as historic records of past events and as contemporary portraits of great men, but also as genuine artistic creations.

Italy is emphatically the birthplace and the home of medals such as have been described above. They were unknown in ancient times, but under the Roman Emperors, especially between A.D. 50 and A.D. 350, somewhat similar discs of metal, called *cotorniates*, were distributed at public games and gladiatorial shows, having

portrait representations of well-known athletes or of the reigning Emperor.

After the fall of the Empire, medals were unknown until the dawn of the Renaissance at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The city of Padua, always devoted to the cult of the antique, was the first to resuscitate the lost art of casting medals; but the early Paduan medals were usually slavish imitations of ancient coins. It was in the neighbouring city of Verona that the great artist Nicholas Pisano (*c.* 1380-1456), created the true Renaissance medal. The medals of the Renaissance are divided into two sections, those of the fifteenth century, beginning *c.* 1400 (Quattrocento), and those of the sixteenth century, beginning *c.* 1500 (Cinquecento). The former are almost invariably cast, the latter are struck.

The Popes of the Renaissance, together with the great princely houses of the Medici of Florence, the Este of Ferrara, the Sforzas of Milan, and others, took the deepest interest in fostering the art of commemorative medals. Some idea of the favour in which they were held may be gathered from the fact that, whereas the Florentine catalogue of 1456 enumerates only 37 bronze (and therefore modern) pieces, the catalogue made in 1492 mentions no less than 1,844 bronze medals.

Pope Paul II. (1464-1471) formed a famous cabinet of gems and numismatic treasures, which included many medals of his own time. Some of this Pope's own medals, such as the hunt of the wild boar, are of exquisitely delicate workmanship. The masters of the Papal mint have been in many cases real artists, who took the greatest pains to

model the portraits of the Popes in wax so as to give a true and artistic representation of their features. Such an artist was Alessandro Cesati, Master of the Papal mint from 1540 to 1561. His medal of Paul III., with Alexander and the High-Priest on the reverse, was so beautiful that Michael Angelo is reported to have said on beholding it : ‘ Now the last hour of Art has come, since nothing better can be achieved.’

Successive Popes even to the present day have added to the immense collection of Papal medals. Through all the last five centuries hardly a year has passed without some fresh medals from the Papal mint. The inscriptions, chiefly taken from the Vulgate Bible, are often of great interest. They display great knowledge of Holy Scripture, and a marvellous power of ingenious adaptation of the text to present circumstances, which does not always commend itself to our judgment. The medals have, however, great value in enabling us to understand the true inwardness of the Story of the Popes from their own point of view, and for this reason they have been constantly referred to in this work.

APPENDIX B

BULL OF LEO X. GRANTING TO KING HENRY VIII. THE TITLE OF DEFENDER OF THE FAITH

LEO, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our dearest son in Christ, Henry, King of England, Defender of the Faith, health and Apostolical benediction. We, by the permission of the Most High, though undeserved by us, being placed over the government of the universal Church, do pour forth far and wide the cogitations of our heart, that the Catholic Faith, without which no man can attain unto salvation, may receive continual increase ; and we do bestow our utmost pains in our office and ministry, that those measures which are taken by the faithful in Christ, especially those who wield royal authority, to restrain the attempts of those who labour to oppress the Faith or pervert and obscure it by evil and false interpretations, may prosper with continual increase. And like as other Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors were wont to bestow special favours upon Catholic Princes (as the quality of times and circumstances required), especially to them who in dangerous times, when the madness and perfidy of schismatics and heretics did most abound, not only remained constant and immovable in quiet faithfulness and pure devotion to the holy Roman Church, but also,

as the true sons and most valiant champions of the same, opposed with mind and body the furious madness of the schismatics and heretics ; so we also desire to extol your Majesty with worthy praises for your high and immortal deeds towards us and this Holy See, wherein by God's permission we sit, and to take those measures for it, for which we ought to watch, to drive away the wolves from the Lord's flock, and to cut away with the knife and the material sword the rotten members which taint the mystical Body of Christ, and to confirm the wavering hearts of the faithful in the soundness of the Faith.

Now, whereas of late our beloved son, John Clerk, your Majesty's orator with us, did in our consistory, in the presence of our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and many other prelates of the Roman *Curia*, exhibit a book to us to be examined and sanctioned by our authority, which book your Majesty, (who doeth all things with diligence and nothing amiss), enflamed with love and zeal to the Catholic Faith, and filled with ardent devotion to us and this Holy See, hath composed as a most worthy and salutary antidote against the errors of divers heretics, often condemned by this Holy See, and of late stirred up and brought in anew by Martin^{us} Luther ; and whereas your said orator in his lucid speech hath declared unto us that your Majesty is ready and prepared, as you have confuted the notorious errors of the said Martin by true reasoning and by the irrefragable authority of the Holy Scripture and ancient Fathers, so also to punish with all the power of your kingdom, all who presume to follow or defend them ; we have therefore diligently and carefully perused and examined the admirable doctrine of the said book,

sprinkled with the dew of the heavenly grace, and have given hearty thanks to Almighty God, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh, and who hath vouchsafed to inspire your excellent mind which is inclined to every good thing, and who has been pleased to give you so much grace from above as to write these things, whereby you can defend His holy Faith against a new innovator of such damnable error, and thereby incite other Christian kings and princes by your example to be willing to favour and to further with all their strength the orthodox Faith and the Evangelical Truth whenever it is brought into danger and doubt.

Moreover, we think it right to give all praise and honour to those who have undertaken pious labour for the defence of the Christian faith ; and we wish not only to extol and magnify with deserved praise the things which your Majesty has written with most sound doctrine and no less eloquence against Martin Luther, and to approve and confirm them by our authority, but also to grace your Majesty with such honour and such a title that both for our own and for all future time all men may know how grateful and acceptable this gift of your Majesty hath been to us, especially as offered to us at this present time. We, therefore, who are the true successors of Peter, whom Christ at His ascension into heaven left as His vicar upon earth, and to whom He committed the care of His flock, we who sit in this holy seat, from which all dignities and honours do flow, after mature deliberation held with our brethren upon these matters, have with their general consent and agreement decreed to bestow upon your Majesty this title—namely, Defender of the Faith—and by these presents we do so style you, and we command all the

faithful in Christ to name your Majesty by this title, and in writing to join to the word 'King' the title 'Defender of the Faith.' And truly when we were diligently weighing and considering the excellency and dignity of this title, together with your singular merits, we could think of no name more noble or more suitable for your Majesty; and as often as you hear and read it, so will you remember your singular virtue and great desert; yet you will not be swollen or puffed up by pride through this title, but in accordance with your wonted prudence will become more humble and be more valiant and constant in the faith of Christ and in devotion to this Holy See, by which you have been thus exalted, and you will rejoice in the Lord, the Giver of all good things, and leave this perpetual and immortal monument of your glory to your children, and show them the way that, if they desire to be graced with a similar title, they must labour to do such works, and follow the excellent steps of your Majesty; and as you have deserved so well of us and this dominical See, we bestow on you, with your wife and children and all who shall be born from you and from them, our blessing with a large and liberal hand, and we pray and beseech that Almighty One, who saith, 'By Me kings reign and princes rule,' and in whose hand are the hearts of kings, that He may confirm you in your holy purpose and multiply your devotion, and by your glorious deeds for the holy faith illustrate your renown, and make it seen throughout the world, so that this judgment which we have formed of you in adorning you with so excellent a title may never be deemed by any to be false or vain. Lastly, we pray that after the course of this mortal life is ended, He may make you a partaker of His eternal glory.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the fifteen hundred and twenty-first year of the Incarnation of our Lord, the fifth of the Ides of October, the ninth year of our Pontificate.

I, LEO X., Bishop of the Catholic Church, S.S. (*i.e.*, servant of servants).

NOTE.—This Bull is appended, not only for the interest of the matter contained in it, but as an example of the prolix style and vast pretensions of the Papal Bulls. It will be remarked that as the ancient leaden seal is affixed to the Bull, so also the ancient and humble designation of the Pope is not Pontifex Maximus, but simply ‘Bishop of the Catholic Church, servant of servants.’

APPENDIX C

LIST OF POPES FROM 1417, WITH FAMILY NAMES

- MARTIN V., *Colonna* (1417-1431).
EUGENIUS IV., *Condolnieri* (1431-1447).
NICHOLAS V., *Lugano* (1447-1455).
CALLIXTUS III., *Borgia* (1455-1458).
PIUS II., *Piccolomini* (1458-1464).
PAUL II., *Barbo* (1464-1471).
SIXTUS IV., *Rovere* (1471-1484).
INNOCENT VIII., *Cibo* (1484-1492).
ALEXANDER VI., *Borgia* (1492-1503).
PIUS III., *Piccolomini* (1503).
JULIUS II., *Rovere* (1503-1513).
LEO X., *Medici* (1513-1521).
ADRIAN VI., *Boyers* (1522-1523).
CLEMENT VII., *Medici* (1523-1534).
PAUL III., *Farnese* (1534-1549).
JULIUS III., *del Monte* (1550-1555).
MARCELLUS II., *Cervini* (1555).
PAUL IV., *Caraffa* (1555-1559).
PIUS IV., *Medici* (1560-1565).
PIUS V., *Ghislieri* (1566-1572).
GREGORY XIII., *Buoncompagni* (1572-1585).
SIXTUS V., *Peretti* (1585-1590).
URBAN VII., *Castagna* (1590).
GREGORY XIV., *Sfondrato* (1590-1591).
INNOCENT IX., *Facchinetto* (1591).

- CLEMENT VIII., *Aldobrandino* (1592-1605).
LEO XI., *Medici* (1605).
PAUL V., *Borghese* (1605-1621).
GREGORY XV., *Ludovisio* (1621-1623).
URBAN VIII., *Barberini* (1623-1644).
INNOCENT X., *Pamfili* (1644-1655).
ALEXANDER VII., *Chigi* (1655-1667).
CLEMENT IX., *Rospigliosi* (1667-1669).
CLEMENT X., *Altieri* (1670-1676).
INNOCENT XI., *Odeschalschi* (1676-1689).
ALEXANDER VIII., *Ottoboni* (1689-1691).
INNOCENT XII., *Pignatelli* (1691-1700).
CLEMENT XI., *Albani* (1700-1721).
INNOCENT XIII., *Conti* (1721-1724).
BENEDICT XIII., *Orsini* (1724-1730).
CLEMENT XII., *Corsini* (1730-1740).
BENEDICT XIV., *Lambertini* (1740-1758).
CLEMENT XIII., *Rezzonico* (1758-1769).
CLEMENT XIV., *Ganganelli* (1769-1774).
PIUS VI., *Braschi* (1775-1799).
PIUS VII., *Chiaramonti* (1800-1823).
LEO XII., *Genga* (1823-1829).
PIUS VIII., *Castiglioni* (1829-1830).
GREGORY XVI., *Capellari* (1831-1846).
PIUS IX., *Mastai-Ferretti* (1846-1878).
LEO XIII., *Pecci* (1878-1903).
PIUS X., *Sarto* (1903-).

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED

- Gesta Pontificum Romanorum. Palatius. Venice, 1688.
Lives and Times of the Roman Pontiffs. Chevalier
Artaud de Montor.
A History of the Papacy during the Reformation (1417-
1536). Bishop Creighton.
The Popes of Rome. Von Ranke (Austin's translation).
The History of the Popes. Archibald Bower. Dublin,
1767.
The Lives of the Popes. R.T.S.
The Tombs of the Popes. Gregorovius.
The Renaissance in Italy. J. A. Symonds.
The Story of Rome. Norwood Young (Mediæval Towns
Series).
Numismata Pontificum. Venetus.
Letters on the Church of Rome. Bishop Christopher
Wordsworth.
Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome.
Dr. Littledale.
The Age of the Renaissance. Paul van Dyke (Story of
the Nations Series).
Life of Charles V. Prescott.
Roba di Roma. William W. Story.
Urban VIII. William N. Weech.
Lives of the Saints. Baring-Gould (for Pius V.).
History of England. Froude.
Italian Medals. Cornelius von Fabriczy.

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